142
291
342
643

[493]

PLATE I. Paramount Chief Pontino Mpezeni Jere III, K.M., standing with a man from the chief's capital. The man points upwards and sings that, because they conquered the Ngoni, the Whites must have come from heaven.

[Frontpiece Facing p. i]

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POLITICS IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE FORT JAMESON NGONI

J. A. BARNES

[p. i]
[Title page]

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PREFACE

This study is based on twenty months' fieldwork among the Fort Jameson Ngoni of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which I undertook during 1946–9 as a research officer of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. I have already published a description of marital relations among these people as well as a general outline of their social organization. In this work I discuss their political system. I hope in a later publication to describe Ngoni village life. 114

The raw materials of the field anthropologist are the actions, sayings and writings of his informants, and I am deeply indebted to those many people who allowed me to make use of their knowledge and experience of Ngoni society and to join with them in their activities. It would be invidious to mention only some of the great number of people who helped me with my inquiries and I must content myself with this expression of gratitude and thanks to all who made my work possible. I hope that my writings do not betray their confidence or invade their privacy. I shall regard it as only a partial repayment of my debt to them if this book helps them and their neighbours to a better understanding of the world they live in.

I must, however, mention by name Paramount Chief Mpezeni Jere III, K.M., for the support which he gave my work in his country; and I have to thank Lomthunzi Cazingwa Nkhuwa, Councillor Zuwani Lukhezo Zulu III, and Mdani Kausha Tembo for the hospitality I enjoyed in their villages. M. B. Lukhero, my clerk throughout my stay in Ngoniland, introduced me to Ngoni ways of life and assisted me in my inquiries. This study is as much his as it is mine. 115 122

My fieldwork owes much to the co-operation and assistance given me by the Provincial Administration in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, by the missions and by planters and traders in the district. I am particularly indebted to Mr. D. B. Hall, District Commissioner, and Mrs. Hall for hospitality shown my family and myself, and it is a pleasure to recall the interest taken in my work by Mr. R. P. Bush, O.B.E., Secretary for African Affairs, and Mrs. Bush; Commander T. S. L. Fox-Pitt, O.B.E., R.N. (Retd.), Provincial Commissioner, and Mrs. Fox-Pitt; Mr. H. C. Bayldon, M.C., District Officer, and Mrs. Bayldon; Mr. H. J. Roberts, Provincial Education Officer, and Mrs. Roberts; Mr. M. K. Daka, Headmaster of the Ngoni Native Authority School; and in Nyasaland Mr. D. W. Saunders-Jones, O.B.E., Provincial Commissioner; 000

000 Mr. M. N. Gandy, Assistant District Commissioner, and Mrs. Gandy. I received much assistance from The Rev. J. C. C. Pauw and The Rev. C. R. Kok, Dutch Reformed Church Mission; Mgr. Martin, Apostolic Prefect, and P. Kneer, White Fathers Mission; Miss A. S. Field, Universities' Mission to Central Africa; and Mr. Bambury, Seventh Day Adventist Mission. I am grateful to these and to many other friends for hospitality, information and encouragement, and for providing me with such pleasant interludes in the strenuous round of fieldwork.

[121] I have written this book as a social anthropologist, and from an anthropological point of view. The kind of inquiry I made, and the way in which I have tried to handle my data, have been largely determined by the guidance and instruction I have been privileged to receive from many masters at Cambridge, Cape Town, Oxford and London. To the late Mr. J. H. Driberg, my first teacher, I am especially indebted. His stimulating manner encouraged his pupils to disagree with him, and his manifest love of his subject forced me to reject one of his main propositions, that no one should think of taking up anthropology as a career. I am also indebted to Dr. G. E. Daniel and Dr. J. C. Trevor for early encouragement. To Professors Schapera, Evans-Pritchard, Fortes and Radcliffe-Brown I owe my grounding in the problems and methods of anthropology, and I am very grateful to them for the help they have given in lecture and discussion.

This whole study has been carried out under the direction and supervision of Professor Gluckman, and my debt to him is writ large throughout this volume. His continuing encouragement, assistance and careful criticism have deeply affected my work. My colleagues of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute have also largely helped to shape this book. Dr. J. C. Mitchell has always been stimulating in our discussions on common problems, and I have been helped by discussion and argument with Dr. E. Colson and Dr. I. G. Cunnison. In the field I had the benefit of parallel data collected by my colleagues from other areas, and was fortunate in being able to visit some of them myself. My thinking and writing have been profoundly influenced by this experience of working in a group, in which each member had his own field background and [122] his own point of view to justify to his colleagues. At the same time I am most grateful to the Trustees of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for their financial support and for the freedom allowed me in my work.

114 In the field I was fortunate in collaborating with Mr. M. G. Marwick, Colonial Research Fellow, and Mrs. Marwick, whose

work lay in my vicinity, and with Miss P. M. Deane, Colonial 114
Research Fellow, who visited Ngoniland and who kindly placed her data at my disposal. Their researches threw much light on my own.

The literature on the Ngoni is considerable, and my work has 127
been helped by the reports of earlier writers. Professor Read visited the Fort Jameson Ngoni in 1935, and those of my informants who had met her recalled her visit with great pleasure. I was often able to allay suspicion by explaining that I was trying to do the same kind of work as she had done earlier. In addition to published reports I have made considerable use of official dispatches and other archival material relating to the conquest of the Ngoni by the British in 1898.

For kind permission to quote from other works, I am indebted 000
to the Oxford University Press and the International African Institute (in respect of *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* by Meyer Fortes), the Director of Agriculture, Northern Rhodesia Government (*The Soils, Vegetation and Agriculture of North-Eastern Rhodesia* by C. G. Trapnell), and The Editor, *Scottish Geographical Magazine* ('A Trip to Northern Angoniland', by H. Crawford Angus).

In preparing this book, I have to thank Miss D. Goldstein and Mr. J. Paing for help with diagrams and maps. Professors Schapera and Evans-Pritchard, Dr. Peristiany and Dr. Kaberry read the manuscript and I have been very grateful for their comments. Finally, I would thank my wife for companionship and assistance in the field, and for unremitting help in the arduous task of writing.

J. A. B.

Meling, Norway
1952

Postscript:

Since this book has gone to press, the British territories of 648
Central Africa have been united in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This momentous step in the development of the region has been accompanied by a major shift in the balance of power between the Administration, the White settlers and the indigenous African population. I do not know in detail how the Ngoni people have responded to this change. Federation was a topic of conversation among them even while I was carrying out this study, and several Ngoni men have been prominent in the political negotiations of the last four years. It seems, therefore, highly likely that the operation of the political structure discussed in the last two chapters

688 of this book, involving as it does both Blacks and Whites, has now altered considerably. I have described relations between the Ngoni and their White neighbours as I saw them during 1946-9, but this description may not necessarily be valid now.

J. A. B.

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(The photographs for Plates I and XI were taken by Mr. M. B. Lukhero; the remainder by the author.)

Chapter One

THE LONG MARCH

1. Sources 2. The Ngoni background 3. Foundation of the State
4. The residential system 5. Under Zwangendaba's leadership 6. Fission
7. Mpezeni's kingdom 8. Foreign policy

1. *Sources*

WHAT WE usually have in mind when we speak of a tribe or nation or empire is a large political unit enduring in time 619 and space. The nation outlives its members, for as they grow old 121 and die their children and grandchildren rise up to take their places. On its fringes there may be continual fluctuations, adjustments of boundaries and migrations of people, but always the majority of the population are born within the national territory and die within it as their ancestors have done before them. There is spatial continuity as well as biological continuity, and the same areas of land, sometimes even the same houses and fields, are occupied and cultivated by successive generations. The Ngoni State, whose 619 history is the subject of this book, was clearly not a state of this kind. 166 It was born suddenly, moved about from one part of Africa to another, and recruited most of its members from outside itself. Only at the end of the nineteenth century, when colonial rule was imposed by Europeans, was the migration of the Ngoni as an organized group brought to an end. Even so, the social and economic development of modern central Africa has ensured that the men and women who from time to time live in Ngoni tribal areas, fixed though these have become, are now part of a wider social system within which they travel great distances in search of work and of kinsmen, wives and friends. Yet despite these differences the Ngoni State, like other states and polities, has had structural, or institutional, continuity. It is an enduring organized social group with a history. The same forms of social organization have endured despite changes in space and despite biological discontinuity; and where these forms have changed there has been continuity even in change.

This history of the Ngoni from 1821 down to 1898 is essentially 173 the history of an armed nation on the march. Our knowledge of it

173 is limited by the fact that the Ngoni themselves were without writing, and their warlike disposition discouraged the visits of travellers who might otherwise have left some record of Ngoni life during these times. There is a considerable body of oral tradition [114] which has been reduced to writing since 1891, but for the most part these traditional tales assume a knowlege of Ngoni life and do not explicitly describe it. Our evidence for the main features of Ngoni society during this period of migration is found in three places. First we have the pattern of relationships prevailing at the present time between groups of Ngoni, between villages, chiefdoms and kingdoms. The legends which form the charter of these relations form a coherent and largely consistent corpus of traditional knowledge about events taking place within the last hundred and fifty years from which we can make reliable inferences about the internal history of the Ngoni. In particular we can gain significant information about the manner in which different groups were formed by elucidating the names applied to them. A modified form of genealogical inquiry, applied not to physiological ancestry but to links between dependant and lord and between satellite and parent villages, provides us with a reasonably trustworthy history of intergroup relations.

[114] Secondly, there is the evidence available from the numerous published accounts of Ngoni life which have been written by European and African authors. The traditions they record can be used to supplement the data gained from an analysis of present-day legends. A little information can be gleaned from the traditional histories of tribes attacked by the Ngoni.

Thirdly, we have a certain amount of comparative evidence 171 from other societies. There are about a dozen distinct Ngoni 664 kingdoms in different parts of Africa at the present time. In this 173 book we are concerned directly with only one of these groups, now situated near Fort Jameson in Northern Rhodesia. Much light is however, thrown on its history by accounts of other Ngoni States, particularly of the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, where the old form of society persisted longer than at Fort Jameson and where even now the changes brought about by colonial rule seem not to be so great. Accounts of Ngoni groups farther afield, and of the allied societies of the Swazi and Zulu in South Africa provide less direct evidence.

116 A few isolated events in early Ngoni history can be dated 117 precisely. Captain Cutfield, R.N., met a group of Ngoni on 173 7 November 1822 and some Ngoni warriors skirmished with the

114 173 Portuguese at Delagoa Bay on 2 August 1823.[1] There was a solar eclipse on the day the Ngoni crossed the Zambezi, an event which may therefore be reliably dated 20 November 1835.[2] Livingstone and other explorers also provide us with dates. For example, Burton was in the vicinity when Ngoni raided Ujiji in 1858.[3] These evidences enable us to construct a comparatively good chronology for the Ngoni from 1821 onwards, but they do not directly tell us much about the form of Ngoni society.

114 Livingstone (1857, 1865, 1880), Cameron (1877) and Young (1877) mention the Ngoni under various names but tell us little except that the Ngoni were raiding continually. These early travellers were unable to make close contact with the Ngoni, mainly because of the unwillingness of their African carriers, and it is not until 1881 that the Fort Jameson Paramount Chief, Mpezeni, is mentioned by name, in Stewart's account. Wiese reached Mpezeni in 1886, or perhaps a few years earlier, and in 1891 he published the first detailed account of Zwangendaba's people. Other pre-conquest visitors to Mpezeni who published were Money and Smith (1897) and Deare (who did not publish until 1928), and Johnston's account (1897) is derived from them and from their contemporaries. Early accounts of tribal history were written by Laws (1893), Elmslie (1897), both of them missionaries with the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, by Decle (1898), an explorer, and by Maples and other missionaries working near the Ngoni of Songea District, Tanganyika Territory, and northern Mozambique, who published in *Occasional papers for Nyasaland* (1893) and *The Nyasa News* (1893-5). There are many post-conquest accounts, the most important being those of Stigand (1907 and 1909), Nkonjera (1911-12), Stannus (1922), Young (1923 and 1932), Hodgson (1933), Poole (1934), Hatchell (1935 and 1948), Read (1936 onwards), Lancaster (1937), Winterbottom (1937 and 1950), Kapunzah (1941), Bruwer (1941) and Chibambo (1942). All these writers have in part drawn directly on oral tradition. Useful collations have been made by Werner (1906), Murray (1922), Abraham (1932), Bradley (1940) and Tew (1950). Bryant's masterly account of Zulu history (1929) contains in addition a

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[1] Owen, *Narrative*, i, pp. 80, 121, 142 f., 255, 258, 271. All citations will give abbreviated titles only of the works concerned, while full details of all works cited will be found in the bibliographies at the end of the volume.

[2] cf. Poole, 'Crossing of the Zambezi', pp. 292 f. Poole gives the date as 19 November. This seems to be based on a misinterpretation of the astronomical, as distinct from the civil, date. Young, *History*, p. 110, gives the date correctly. cf. *Nautical almanac*, 1835, 2nd ed., p. 470.

[3] Burton, *Lake regions*, ii, pp. 73 f.

114 second-hand account of the Ngoni, and some relevant information is given by Soga (1930).

Good accounts of pre-conquest social life are not so numerous. The most useful accounts are those of Wiese (1891 and 1900), Angus (1899), and Deare (1928), based on observations in the years immediately prior to the war of 1898. For the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland there are the works of Elmslie (1899) and Fraser (1901 and 1914). Read, in 1935, was the first to apply modern methods of inquiry and has published comparative material on the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, Fort Jameson and southern Nyasaland, and on the neighbouring Cewa.

Some of this literature has found its way back to the Ngoni [872] themselves, and children nowadays acquire their knowledge of the exploits of their ancestors as much from school books as from oral tradition. Under these circumstances, I decided that no useful 121 purpose would be served by my trying to make conventional inquiries into tribal history with the aim of establishing what had in fact occurred in the past. I found it was impossible to tell whether similarity between an informant's account of a past event and a previously published version was due to common origin, independent invention, or good teaching in school. I was however concerned with the quite different problem of what use the Ngoni made of their history,[4] and I collected the histories of many counties, villages and people. For the material in this chapter I have therefore relied on the fullest and most lucid of these many versions of [115] Ngoni history, that by Chibambo, an Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, supplemented by the writings of Poole, a member of the Administration at Fort Jameson for many years, and Lancaster, who was a game warden in the area.

2. *The Nguni background*

Before we can understand the Ngoni of central Africa we must 113 first consider social conditions farther south, for it was from the south that many Ngoni came. From the sixteenth century onwards, south-eastern Africa was peopled by subsistence cultivators growing cereals and herding cattle. The Nguni, as the southernmost branch of these peoples is now called, occupied the area which has become Swaziland, Natal and the Transkei. At first the Nguni were not organized into powerful states but from the common background of Nguni society there developed, from the last quarter of the eighteenth century onwards, several strong political units. We may mention among others the Zulu empire under Shaka, the Swazi

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[4] See my 'History in a changing society'.

kingdom under Sobhuza I and Mswati and the various Ngoni 178
States. Despite their common social and cultural origin these
emergent polities had each its distinctive features. The special
characteristics of Ngoni society are at least in part understandable 105
as due to the differences in its social environment as compared with 171
Zulu and Swazi. The Ngoni were migrants, whereas Zulu and 173
Swazi were not. The Ngoni captured a large number of men and
women of non-Nguni origin who were assimilated into the Ngoni
State as individuals, whereas for the most part the Zulu and Swazi
States expanded by the incorporation of existing social groups as
groups, not as individuals, and these groups, if not all Nguni in
origin, at least belonged to closely allied peoples.

Thus to set the Ngoni in proper perspective we must begin 173
with a brief description of their Nguni forebears. In the eighteenth
century the Nguni were grouped into a large number of small [619]
chiefdoms each containing a dominant agnatic lineage segment [613]
to which the chief belonged. Each chiefdom contained segments of
other lineages, and most lineages had segments in a number of
chiefdoms, one segment being dominant in its chiefdom. Lineages
were exogamous, their members were graded in terms of primogeniture and the ranking of wives, and as a result of quarrels segments transferred their allegiance from one chief to another or even
founded new chiefdoms. Most residential settlements were small, [592]
containing only the agnatic descendants of a living man, with their
wives and children, and were divided into three sections or 'houses',
led by the great, right- and left-hand wives of the polygynous head
of the settlement. There were also larger homesteads containing
the dwellings of chiefs and other members of the dominant lineage [643]
as well as those of many genealogically unrelated dependants. The 63
chief was assisted by his agnatic kinsmen and by the heads of non-chiefly lineage segments and by other unrelated men whom he
placed as lieutenants, or indunas, in charge of districts or responsible
of specific administrative, judicial or military tasks. For fighting [701]
and hunting the men of the chiefdom were organized in divisions,
each attached to a royal homestead. There was also an organi- [581]
zation of youths into small age-sets, groupings of coevals who had
been circumcised together.

At the turn of the century, with the emergence of large king- 173
doms, each containing many chiefdoms under the leadership of a 561
king, the age-set system changed its form and the royal homesteads [683]
acquired greater significance. Circumcision was discontinued and
the age-sets began to be organized on a national basis. Each [304]
age-set constituted a regiment in the national army, had its barracks

173 at a royal homestead, and was led by a nominee of the king, usually
a prince or chief. Other royal homesteads, called 'heads', were in
[561] charge of princes and were the foci of allegiance of groups of
chiefdoms within the kingdom.

173 Thus every man owed allegiance in several places. He had
obligations to his agnatic lineage, and in particular to that segment
631 of the lineage within the chiefdom to which he belonged. Local
[613] matters, questions arising over land and cattle, and quarrels
[627] between neighbours, were settled by discussion between agnates or
by reference to the lieutenant appointed by the chief to look after
the district. Every man was also a member of a division of his
chiefdom, and hunted wild beasts with his fellows in the division.
[621] He was a member of his chiefdom as against other chiefdoms, and
looked to his chief for assistance in his affairs, even as the chief
relied on the support of his people in his own struggles with other
[619] chiefs. In the nation, every man belonged to a regiment, fought and
danced alongside his regimental age-mates drawn from every chiefdom,
and was expected to support the prince who commanded the
[701] regiment. Finally he was a member of a 'head' and within his
regiment was grouped together with others from the same head.
A man might change his chiefdom, but his allegiance to regiment
and head were fixed.[1]

178 The Ngoni State was founded in the 1820's by men and women,
perhaps a thousand in number, who had grown up in a social
619 system of this kind. Certain parts of the system were dropped,
others were developed. In effect, the system was simplified and
adapted to the life of migrant brigandage which the Ngoni enjoyed
for some seventy years. The old alignment of agnatic lineages
[618] disappeared, for the great majority of Ngoni joined the system by
capture, not by birth. In its place a quasi-agnatic residential
[621] system was evolved, in which men and women bore allegiance not
to their own agnatic seniors but to their lord or captor. This
system was, however, tied in with an arrangement of royal homesteads
which in itself was a development of the division of polygynous
households into great, left- and right-hand 'houses'. There
were no chiefdoms within the nation, for the nation began, as it were,
as a *tabula rasa* without significant relics of earlier chiefly align-
[561] ments. The age-set system remained the basis of military organi-
[701] zation, but there were no royal or chiefly commanders appointed
over regiments and there were no regimental barracks. Instead the
178 bulk of the population lived in large villages which resembled the
621 former royal homesteads and military barracks but in which men

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[1] Based on Bryant, *Olden times*, and Gluckman, 'Kingdom of the Zulu'.

lived with their wives and children, and not all of which had royal 178 headmen. The system of 'heads' disappeared, at least in the Ngoni group with which we are most concerned, and within their regi- 621 ments men were grouped in terms of their place in the residential [701] system.

3. *Foundation of the State*

The Nguni chiefdoms of the seventeenth and early eighteenth 173 centuries were, according to all accounts, comparatively small. 643 There were many of them and they were unstable. After about 1775 the pattern of political alignment began to alter and larger states appeared. By 1810 three kingdoms, the Mthethwa, Ndandwe and Qwabe,[4] dominated the rest and in 1818 Zwide, king of the Ndandwe, whose territory was in what is now northern Zululand, killed the Mthethewa king. He then turned his attention to Shaka, an Mthethwa by political affiliation who had conquered his kinsmen the Qwabe and had become the effective leader of the Mthethwa kingdom. Unfortunately for Zwide, he was defeated in 1819 by Shaka and thereupon the Ndandwe kingdom broke up. Some segments became part of Shaka's expanding State, others [167] moved off to the north. About 1821[5] Zwangendaba, who had been for a time a sub-chief of Zwide, led a party of refugees north-eastwards into the region of Delagoa Bay. The route probably taken by Zwangendaba and his followers, and by other Ngoni groups, is shown in Map A. Near Delagoa Bay Zwangendaba found Soshangane, a classificatory brother of Zwide,[6] fighting with Nxaba, another minor chief, both of them refugees like Zwangendaba from the rising power of Shaka. All three parties raided the [721] indigenous Tsonga peoples and made captives fight alongside [727] their new masters.

Zwangendaba quarrelled with Soshangane and moved on 173 farther north. He took with him his new Tsonga adherents and 167 also some small groups of Swazi and related peoples who had fled independently from Shaka and who now placed themselves under

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[4] I do not claim any consistency in my spelling of indigenous names and other words. As far as possible I have endeavoured to follow Atkins, 'Spelling Nyanja'. However I have written the unaspirated post-alveolar affricative in its old form *ch* whenever the new form *c* might be confused with the radical dental click consonant represented by *c* in Zulu. [104]

[5] cf. Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 459. He is followed by Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 3, 73, 75. Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 77, 84, gives 1825 and Winterbottom, 'Historical', p. 15, has 1825 or 1826. Young, *History*, p. 105, and Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 6, both have 1825. Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 272, says Zwangendaba left in 1819, while Coxhead, *Native tribes*, p. 20, says he left in the 1830's.

[6] For the exact relationship between Soshangane and Zwide, see Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 161, 279, 454.

[Text continues on page 9]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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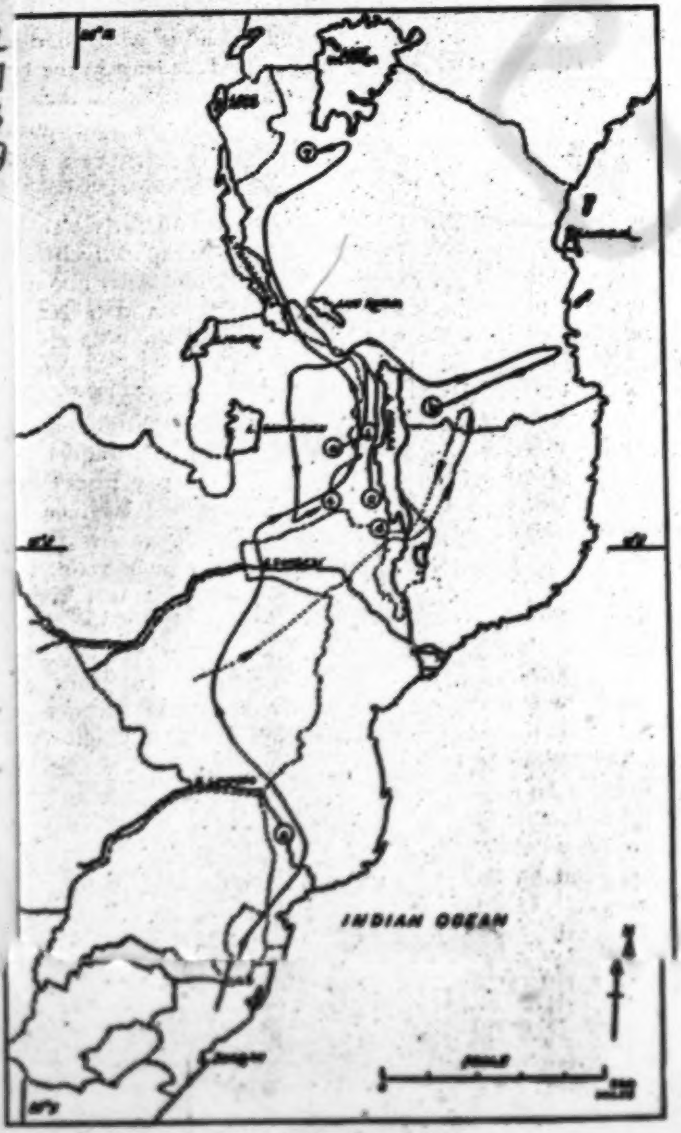
619

MAP A. NGONI MIGRATIONS 1821–1900



Route of groups stemming from Zwangendaba.
Route of Maseko Ngoni of Southern Nyasaland.
Modern political boundaries (1958).

① Northern Nyasaland group, under [illegible].
⑤ Fort Jameson group, under Mpezeni.
⑦ [illegible] group, under [illegible] and [illegible].
⑧ [illegible] group, under [illegible].

④ Songea group, under Zulu Gama.
② Dowa group, under Chiwere Ndhlovu.
③ Southern Nyasaland group, originally under Mputa Maseko.
⑥ [illegible] group, under [illegible].

[p. 9]

his leadership, or who may have been part of his following before 173
the migration began.[10] 167

The people led by Zwangendaba called themselves Ngoni, a
name derived from Nguni, a term of salutation (*isithakazelo*) common 101
to many agnatic clans in Natal. The tribes with whom the Ngoni fought referred to them by a wide variety of names and it is under these that they appear in the early literature. They were known as Angoni, Amapundi, Bangoni, Batuta, Bazowa, Bunga, Landeens, Landims, Machendi, Mafiti, Mafitte, Magwagwara, Makwangara, Mangone, Mangwangwara, Manitu, Maviti, Mavitu, Mazite, Mazitu, Mbunga, Mchecherere, Rugaruga, Sinyama, Waangwe, Wajoja, Wamachonde, Wamachote, Wangoni, Wapoma, Watuta, Zulu and Zulu Kaffirs.[11] Some of these names they shared with other tribes and bands of brigands.

TABLE I. LEADERS OF GROUPS IN THE 1820'S

[551]
[643]

Shaka	Effective head of the Mthethwa kingdom and founder of the Zulu empire.
Zwide	Ndandwe king, defeated by Shaka.
Soshangane	A classificatory younger brother of Zwide.
Zwangendaba	Independent minor chief, sometime ally of Zwide.
Mzilikazi	Originally independent leader who became one of Shaka's generals and later fled from him.
Nxaba	Independent minor chief who fled from Shaka.

4. *The residential system*

The Nguni men and women who made up the core of Zwange- 173
ndaba's following were grouped together in agnatic lineages and in 613
age-sets. Their captives were absorbed into this social structure
and in the process the structure was inevitably altered to conform [727]
to the peculiar features of Ngoni life. The heads of the various [622]
distinct lineages under Zwangendaba, or at least some of them,
became known as *regional governors*[12] and their lineages became [631]

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[10] Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 158-71, 204-16; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 7-11.

[11] See Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 93.

[12] *Mulumuzana*, pl. *abalumuzana*. cf. Zulu, *umnumzana*, village headman; also Read, 'Tradition', p. 460.

173 613 631 segments in what we shall term the Ngoni residential system. The constituent segments of their lineages formed the nuclei of minor segments of the residential system. Using the adjectives 'superior' and 'inferior' to indicate merely relative position, we may say that each Nguni agnatic lineage segment was in general contained within superior segments of greater span and at the same time contained within itself smaller but similar inferior units. This formation is characteristic of all lineage systems, as is well known. The segments of the residential system were arranged in the same way but whereas there were several distinct agnatic lineages, or parts of such lineages, under the political leadership of Zwangendaba, in the residential system all, or nearly all, of these distinct lineages were included within the largest residential segment. In other words, the largest segment of the residential system contained almost the whole of Zwangendaba's following, his regional governors, his and their captives and other followers, as well as his own agnatic kinsmen. Again, whereas the various lineage segments contained only the agnatic relatives of the head of the segment, each segment in the residential system included many captives, men, women and children, as well as an agnatic core.

The segments or units of the residential system were enduring social groups which, by analogy with the usual terminology for lineage systems, we shall call primal segments.[18] The segment of highest order was the State itself (or the greater portion thereof), consisting in 1898 of some 75,000 people, while many of the lowest order segments contained only half a dozen people. Each member of a segment belonged not only to that segment but also to all the superior segments of which it was a part.

173 613 622 We shall refer to the man in charge of, or the founder of, a segment as a lord (*mfumu*) and to the members of his segment as his dependants. Every man was potentially a lord, and every lord

dependants. Every man was potentially a lord, and every lord

631 except the Paramount Chief, Zwangendaba, was a dependant of some other lord higher in the hierarchy. A lord was politically responsible for all the men and women in his segment. He was related agnatically to some of the men in his segment and towards [608] his captives he stood in a quasi-agnatic relationship in that, although he had the same rights and duties towards them as if he had been [592] their father, it was nevertheless possible, and indeed quite usual, for his captives to marry one another and for him to marry one of his woman captives. In the absence of true agnatic descendants a lord was sometimes succeeded by a quasi-related dependant.

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[18] *Cigaŵa*, pl. *vigaŵa*, from *ku-gaŵa*, to divide. cf. Nsenga, *ku-yaŵa*, to divide; and Zulu, *isi-gaba*, section or portion divided off from the whole.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

Each lord selected some of his quasi-related dependent men 173
and made them his lieutenants. A lieutenant[14] was responsible for 627
carrying out his lord's instructions and helped in keeping the peace 624
within the segment. Thus a dispute between two people in the same
segment was referred in the first instance to the lieutenants of their
lord, who reported their decision on the matter to him. If agreement
could not be reached the matter was referred to the lieutenants of
the lord's lord, that is, to the next superior segment, and so on until
the matter came before the Paramount Chief. A lord could override the decision of his lieutenants if he wished. The Paramount
Chief's lieutenants were responsible for administering the poison 695
ordeal (*muvavi*) when accusations of sorcery were made or when there 683
was no other evidence.[15]

In the Nguni lineage, new inferior segments were formed mainly 173
by differentiation between brothers, or between sons of different 613
mothers. These types of differentiation occurred in the residential 695
system and gave rise to new primal segments but alongside other 621
processes of segmentation. The Nguni division of wives into great, 631
right- and left-hand was developed into an arrangement whereby a man with many wives and many followers divided his wives into *bevies*[16] of some half a dozen wives each and allocated his followers to specific bevies. Each leader of a bevy had her junior co-wives, her own and their sons, and her lieutenants and other dependants acquired by capture. Each of these groups of followers under a senior wife constituted a separate segment and we shall refer to the wife in charge of a segment of this kind as the lady (*nkosikazi*) of the segment. Sons, lieutenants and even quasi-related dependants who were not lieutenants were all able to found inferior segments of their own within their lady's segment. Thus with the passage of time every flourishing segment became subdivided internally into several inferior segments, and in addition there was often what we shall term a *rump*, consisting of dependants not allocated to any

shall term a rump, consisting of dependants not allocated to any

inferior segment.

Most of the Nguni settlements were small, but on their march 173
north the Ngoni lived in large compact villages containing over a 621
thousand huts and several thousand inhabitants. Within these 631
large villages people were arranged in terms of their segmentary affiliation and it is for this reason that we have spoken of a 'residential' system. The members of each small primal segment lived

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[14] *Nduna*, pl. *induna*. cf. Zulu *induna*.

[15] See Wiese, 'Expedição', pp. 470, 471, and 'Geschichte', pp. 188, 190.

[16] In earlier publications I used the term 'band' in place of 'bevy'. See my *Marriage*, p. [illegible].

173 621 631 together in a cluster of huts, and several clusters together formed a division, inhabited by members of a segment of greater span. Larger segments corresponded to complete villages and the largest segments of all contained many separate villages. The same general pattern of settlement was repeated at successive halting places on the migration, but as a segment grew in size by natural increase and by the addition of more captives, so its settlement grew from a cluster to a division and from a single village to a group of villages. In a large segment with many villages, the constituent inferior segments remained under the political leadership of the lord of the large segment but achieved a certain amount of autonomy. On many occasions the interests of one or more inferior segments diverged from those of the rest of the large segment, from what we shall term the *residue* of the large segment. This divergence of interest sometimes led to the disappearance of the large segment as an effective social unit and, at the highest level in the residential system, to splits in the State itself.

173 595 613 621 631 The first bevy of wives formed by a lord ranked senior to other bevies, and the wife in charge was the lord's great wife. Her eldest son was his main heir and the eldest son of each bevy leader was heir in its own segment. Yet sons, whether heirs or not, were able to establish segments of their own for their wives when they married and these segments remained as distinct social groups when an heir succeeded. Thus a man could be lord of a segment founded by his father and at the same time lord of a smaller segment, within the first, which he had founded himself. This arrangement was of fundamental importance in the working of the residential system, particularly in the formation of those large and politically dominant segments with which we are mainly concerned in this book, and still finds expression in the new villages founded by each reigning county chief. When the Paramount Chief, or one of his sons, founded a segment for a bevy of queens, the new segment was of village size and many men were called by the chief from existing segments to join the new one. As the segment grew in size, minor segments within it broke out to form separate villages of their own and the parent village became the headquarters of the group of villages and of the segment they formed. The headquarters of all large dispersed segments endured as social groups, as villages, despite the continual throwing off of more and more satellites. Thus the number of large villages, each the headquarters of a segment founded for a bevy of a reigning chief, increased as time went on. These villages remain to-day, and Ngoni history is largely the story of the formation and development of the segments associated with them.

5. *Under Zwan daba's leadership*

When the Ngoni migration began, the greater portion of 173
Zwangendaba's followers belonge to the primal segment founded 595
for the great wife of Hlatshwayo father of Zwangendaba. When
the migration began there were rhaps a thousand people in this 613
segment (this figure is largely esswork). For convenience of 621
reference we shall refer to the va ious historically significant seg- 631
ments by numbers. Thus segme t 1, with the proper name of 643
Elangeni, is that of Hlatshway 's great wife. The structural
relationship of seventeen number segments to each other and to
the royal genealogy is shown in I agram 1. A list of their proper
names and of the names of the rds and ladies associated with
them, is given in Table II, tog her with information on three
segments superior to segment 1 a on three other segments which
cannot be placed on Diagram 1 f lack of information.

This diagram and the acc mpanying table are skeletons, showing only those few men and omen who were heads of major groups which, partly fortuitously, ave endured to the present day and are now large chiefdoms. Th e were many more queens than the ten shown on the diagram an very many more sons of chiefs, regional governors, lieutenants a d other less exalted men and women all of whom were in cha e of named segments, many of which still survive, forming part f a single system. The same principles of organization applie at all levels in the residential system. Here we have set out t names and positions of only the major limbs of the tree of Sta . We must not forget that the minor branches and little twigs ere part of the same growing whole.

Segment 1 included the grea portion of the State, but it is clear from Elmslie and Fraser, and made explicit by Read, that the headquarters of several superior segments were also present on the march north. Read states that villages belonging to nine generations of chiefs were still in existence in northern Nyasaland in 1936. There is no direct evidence from Fort Jameson, for there are no headquarters of ancient royal segments there, but there are several villages belonging to the lieutenants of segments founded by Zwangendaba's father. I have therefore included in Table II the three superior segments whose names are given by Chibambo.[27] It is probable that Zwangendaba had succeeded to the position of

[Text continues on page 15]

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[27] Read, 'Tradition', pp. 465 f.; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 14.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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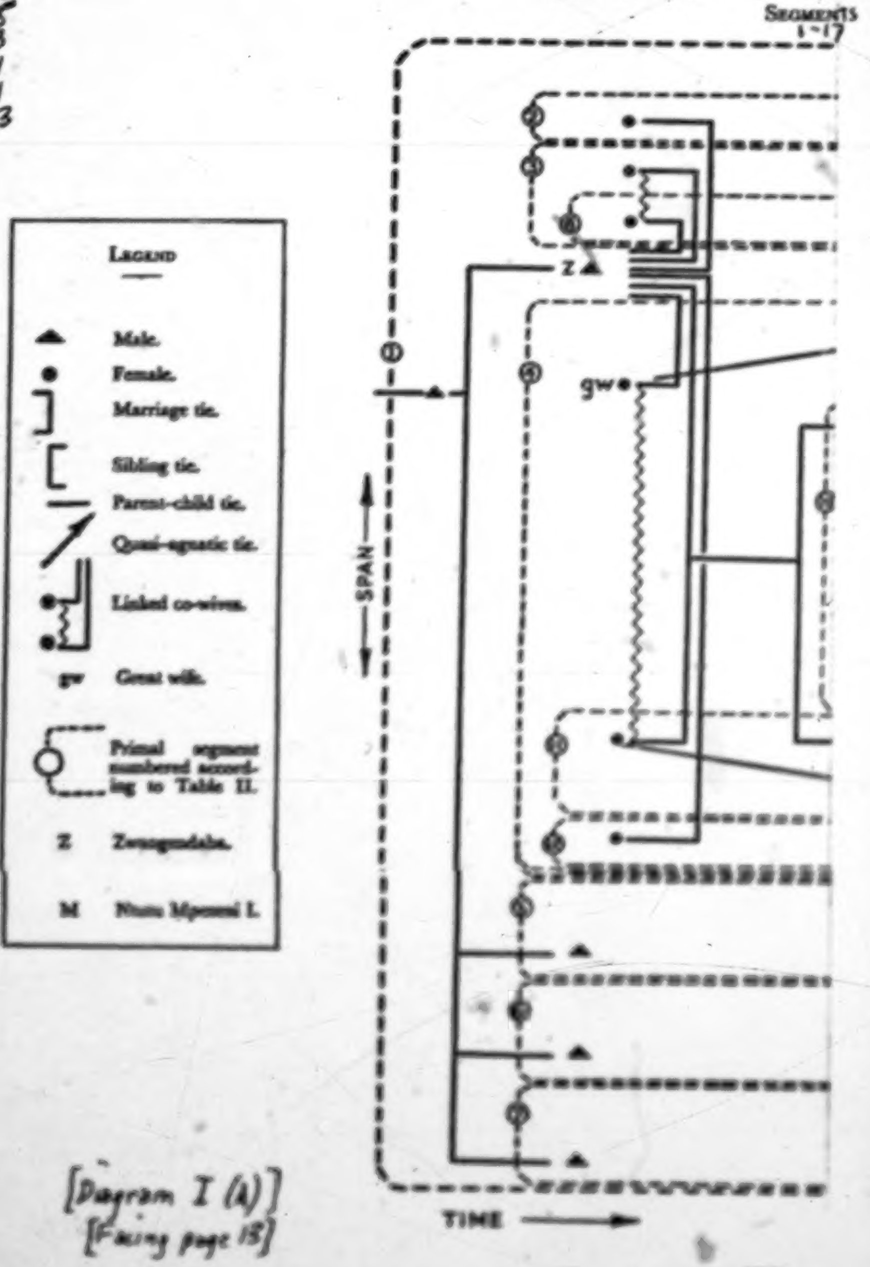
DIAGRAM I. THE ROYAL LINE AND THE RESIDENTIAL SYSTEM


SEGMENTS 1-17
LEGEND
Male.
Female.
Marriage tie.
Sibling tie.
Parent-child tie.
Quasi-agnatic tie.
Linked co-wives.
gw Great wife.
Primal segment numbered according to Table II.
Z Zwangendaba.
M Ntutu Mpezeni I.
Z
gw
SPAN
TIME

[Diagram I (A)]
[Facing page 18]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

DIAGRAM 1. THE ROYAL LINE AND THE RESIDENTIAL SYSTEM
SEGMENTS 1–17

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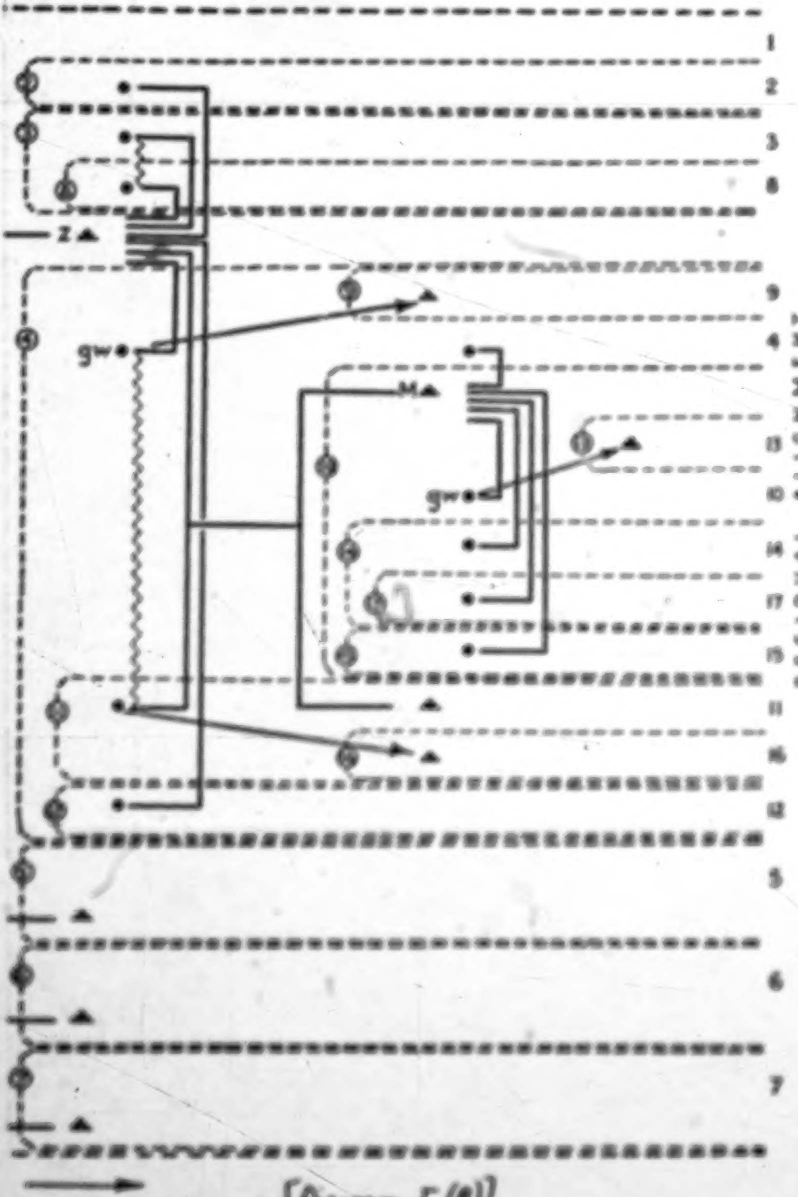
613
621
631
643



1
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RESIDUAL ALIGNMENT

[Diagram I (a)]
[Facing page 13]

TABLE II. RESIDENTIAL SEGMENTS OF HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

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Segment		*Lady's husband (in brackets when segment was not the first founded by him)*	*Lady*	*Lady's heir*
Number	*Proper name*			
(a)	Emhlahuti	Lonyanda	?	Magalela
(a)	Ekudhlamazini	Magalela	?	Magangata
(a)	Hoho	Magangata	?	Hlatshwayo
1	Elangeni	Hlatshwayo	Mgamuche nxima	Zwangendaba
2	Emcisweni	(Zwangendaba)	Mlambose	Mpezembe *or* ? Ndlandane
3	Ekwendeni	(Zwangendaba)	Munene nxima, *later* Gutu nxima	Mwambera Mtwalo
4	Msengeleni	(Zwangendaba)	Loziyaba Lompeta nxumalo	Mpezeni (son of her linked co-wife)
5	Kunyeni	Lomagela	?	Magwambane
6	Nyangweni	Somfula	?	Mkonyeni(a)
7	Engwenyameni (d)	Ntabeni	?	Ngodoyi
8	Ezigodlweni *or* Emchakachakeni	(Zwangendaba)	Munene nxima	Mwambera
9	Gibixhegwini	Mtsikwa maryopa	?	?
10	Loangeni	Ntuto Mpezeni I	Lopoko pakati	Nsingu
11	Dingeni	(Zwangendaba)	Soria nxumalo	Nsyocha (second son)
12	Mkachweni *or* ? Emangweni	(Zwangendaba)	Ziokhere mahlangane	Mlahule (c)
13	Tandweni	Kapatamoyo	?	?
14	Fumbeni	(Mpezeni I)	Mkiron ndo	Nsomane
15	Chimpinga	(Mpezeni I)	Kabuya Kapili tembe	Sayili
16	Falaweni	Mashashalani (b)	?	?
17	Ngiyaweni	(Mpezeni I)	Faiseko	Magoya
18(e)	Emvuyeni *or* Mochileni *or* ? Moceweni	Zwangendaba	Loziyaba nxumalo	—
19(e)	Emzizini	(Zwangendaba)	Mchasama mndhlovu	?
20(e)	Emandlecheweni	Mgayi	?	?

[Notes to table are on page 15.-Analyst]

lord of many segments superior to his own and that at least part of 173
these superior segments came with him on the migration. 613

Within segment 1, Zwangendaba established inferior segment 595
18 (Emveyeyeni or Mvelelení) for his great wife. This segment or 621
part of it was subsequently annihilated and for that reason its 631
relationship to later segments is obscure; I have not been able to 643
place it on Diagram 1. Three of Zwangendaba's younger brothers
founded segments 5, 6 and 7 (Kunyeni, Nyungweni and Engwenyameni) within segment 1. Zwangendaba formed two subsidiary bevies of wives and made segments 3 and 2 (Ekwendeni and Emcisweni)[18] for them, presumably inferior to segment 18. Another bevy of wives with their own segment 19 (Emsizini) is mentioned by Chibambo and Rangeley, but its relation to other segments is not recorded. It seems probable that segment 19, like segments 2 and 3, was inferior to the ill-fated segment 18.

There was a practice among the Ngoni whereby some of the 173
co-wives in a bevy were grouped into *linked* pairs or trios. If a wife 595
was barren or old or if her parents wished to honour her husband, 613
she was given an agnatic kinswoman as her junior linked co-wife. 643
Children born by the junior wife then ranked as if they had been borne by her linked senior.[19] Zwangendaba's great wife, the lady of segment 18, was barren but she had a junior linked co-wife who became pregnant. During her pregnancy an incident occurred of
historical importance. It was, and still is, customary to offer beer [273]
to the Paramount Chief whenever it is brewed in the headquarters of important segments. During this wife's pregnancy beer brewed in the headquarters of segment 18 was offered to Zwangendaba.
He thought that the beer was doctored or had filth in it and [682]
assumed that there was a plot to kill him. He sent warriors to
destroy the headquarters of the segment, which thus disappeared as a political unit. However some of the probable constituent

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[18] Rangeley, 'Mbwele', p. 58, records an alternative tradition that the lady of segment 3 was the first woman to be made great wife, and that she was later demoted in favour of the lady of segment 18.

[19] See my *Marriage*, pp. 4, 6, 34, 94.

NOTES 1/a

(a) Ancestor of present Chief Mlonyeni, Fort Manning Division.
(b) Ancestor of former Chief Mlonyeni and present Chief Tsinka, Fort Jameson District.
(c) Not an ancestor of present Chief Mishale, who belongs to segment 11.
(d) Not to be confused with a segment of the same name formed by Chief Mpezeni III in 1948.
(e) Not shown on Diagram 10.

1/a [see table on page 16—Analyst]

173 parts of the segment, namely segments 2, 3 and 19, survived as
613 independent inferior segments within segment 1. The lieutenant
595 in charge of the warriors spared the pregnant queen and hid her.
She bore a son, Ntutu Mpezeni, and later was shown to Zwangendaba
643 who received her kindly and, according to Chibambo,
ordered her to live with her son in the headquarters of segment 1. She was not in charge of a bevy of wives, and as by this time the great wife was dead, the bevy in segment 3 now became Zwangendaba's senior bevy. Mwambera, eldest son of the leader of this bevy, was thus a candidate for the main heirship but owing to the disappearance of segment 18 and the subsequent reconciliation between Zwangendaba and Mpezeni's mother, the relative status of the two sons was uncertain. This uncertainty may have been one of the precipitating causes in the subsequent break-up of the State.

Rangeley's version of this incident is that after he had been
[114] shown Mpezeni, Zwangendaba ordered the headquarters of
segment 18 to be rebuilt. This seems less likely to be true than the version we have followed, since there is, as far as I know, no present-day village which we can identify as the headquarters of this segment.[30]

From Delagoa Bay, Zwangendaba went up the Limpopo
173 Valley into Mashonaland. He fought with Kalanga and other
167 Shona peoples and there was renewed fighting with other refugee
721 groups under Soshangane and Nxaba. In 1835 Zwangendaba's
group crossed over to the north side of the River Zambezi near Zumbo and settled in Nsenga country for four years. They moved on again along the eastern rim of the Luangwa basin and eventually arrived in about 1842 in Ufipa, on the east side of Lake Tanganyika. Here in about 1845 Zwangendaba died.

Two points of historical detail may be mentioned here. There is reliable
114 evidence for a raid made on a Portuguese fort at Delagoa Bay on 22 October 1833
173 by some of Soshangane's people.[31] Poole and Winterbottom state explicitly that
Zwangendaba's men also took part in this attack, and Lancaster seems to imply
167 the same. According to the chronology adopted by Young and by Poole himself
721 Zwangendaba was at this time four hundred and fifty miles away in the Kalanga
country of Southern Rhodesia and it therefore seems unlikely, though not impossible, that he participated in this raid. Elmslie, Young and Chibambo do not mention it at all, and Bryant refers only to Soshangane's part in it.

A few years after Zwangendaba left Natal, he was followed by Mzilikazi, a chief who for a while fought under Shaka and then fled from him with his followers.

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[30] Winterbottom, 'Angoni paramountcy', pp. 126f; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 26f; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', pp. 28f.

[31] Theal, *Portuguese in South Africa*, pp. 279f.

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Mpezeni

They became known as the Rhodesian Ndebele or Matabele. Posselt, who worked among them, does not record in their history any fight with Zwangendaba, nor do Elmslie, Bryant, Young or Chibambo. Money and Smith say that it is a matter of doubt whether or not Zwangendaba met Mzilikazi. However, Wiese, who states that Zwangendaba broke away from Mzilikazi, says that there was a fight between them. Lancaster writes that there was a fight on the Transvaal border in 1828 before the raid of 1833. Poole makes this fight take place in about 1833 and writes of the Ngoni at that time living in the vicinity of modern Bulawayo and raiding Mzilikazi in the Transvaal. If we are to accept the existence of contact between Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi at all, either of these two versions is preferable to that of Winterbottom, who implies that after taking part in the 1833 raid at Delagoa Bay, Zwangendaba moved to the vicinity of Bulawayo where he met Mzilikazi, only to move on to the Zambezi in 1835. Winterbottom crowds into two years more marching and fighting than seems likely to have taken place. There is also conclusive evidence, set out by Posselt, that Mzilikazi did not leave the Transvaal under Boer pressure until about 1838.

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721
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If Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi were not living side by side, the suggestion by Lancaster and Winterbottom that they quarrelled about a dog is unlikely to be correct. There may be confusion here with the story, recorded by Field and Rangeley, of a quarrel between Mpezeni and Mwambera over their dogs.[illegible]

6. *Fission*

Various writers describe three occasions on which, according to their accounts, dissident sections broke off from the main body of Ngoni prior to Zwangendaba's death. Our view is that only one of these secessions actually took place, and that it was relatively unimportant.

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The first allegedly dissident group is that sometimes known as the Maseko Ngoni, now dwelling in the region round Mount Domwe, on both sides of the border between southern Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa. Murray, Young, Hatchell, Poole and Bruwer state that after crossing the River Zambezi together, the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland broke off from Zwangendaba while he was in Nsenga country. Laws, Johnson, Soga, Lancaster and Rangeley state that these Ngoni crossed the Zambezi separately from Zwangendaba. Elmslie says that they were not an offshoot of Zwangendaba's party, while Read, Chibambo and Winterbottom state that they broke away from Mzilikazi, not from Zwangendaba. Fraser mentions a group that remained behind when Zwangendaba crossed the river and says that it went on to the east of Lake Nyasa, but does not say that it later returned to southern Nyasaland. Of all these writers, Read has had most contact with the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, and her account, as amplified by Winter-

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[illegible] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 5; Winterbottom, 'Outline histories', pp. 15f.; Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 78, 85; Young, *History*, pp. 109f.; Money and Smith, 'Explorations', p. 150; Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, p. 171, Field, *Vigilans*, pp. 16f.; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 63.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

114 173 167 169 168 bottom, seems the most acceptable.[illegible] Two other versions of this alleged dissension can also be rejected. Bryant says that the southern Nyasaland Ngoni remained behind after the main body had crossed the river and that they were led by Gwaza (sic), Zwangendaba's principal headman. Stigand's account is similar, except that he says they broke off after crossing the river. This conflicts with the evidence of Young and Chibambo of the subsequent part played by Gwaza, first lieutenant in segment 1, with Zwangendaba's own group. We must also reject the contention of Coxhead and Hodgson that the southern Nyasaland group broke away from the main body of Ngoni after Zwangendaba's death in Tanganyika Territory. The statement made by Stanley and followed by numerous other writers that the Hehe are an Ngoni group is quite without foundation.[illegible] Some other communities in 101 southern Tanganyika who were merely raided by Ngoni have themselves taken the name Ngoni or some other name used by Ngoni.[illegible]

Poole speaks in one place of 'the secession of Nquaba' (Nxaba) from Zwangendaba, but this does not tally with his earlier statements that Nxaba's migration was independent of Zwangendaba, and that the first secession from Zwangendaba's host was that of the southern Nyasaland Ngoni. Bryant's account of Nxaba is much fuller than Poole's, and contradicts Poole's suggestion that Nxaba crossed the Zambezi at the Lupata Gorge. According to Bryant, Nxaba's group never formed part of Zwangendaba's following, and Nxaba was eventually killed in Barotseland. Chibambo and Winterbottom support Bryant.[illegible]

Posselt, who worked among Mzilikazi's people, states that a section of Zwangendaba's group, composed of Swazi, broke off at about the time of the Zambezi crossing and turned back to join Mzilikazi who married the woman who led the dissident section.

[illegible] The secession of the southern Nyasaland Ngoni from Mzilikazi may explain Wiese's and Decle's assertions that Zwangendaba himself broke away from Mzilikazi. Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 466; Decle, *Savage Africa*, p. 130.

[illegible] Murray, *Handbook*, p. 90; Young, *History*, p. 111, and letter in *African Studies*, 1950; Hatchell, 'Angoni' (1935), p. 69; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Bruwer, *Mkhi*, p. 11; Laws, p. 83, l.a.s., in Lugard, *East African Empire*, i; Johnston, *Nyasa*, p. 100; Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 273; Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 78, 83; Elmslie, *Introductory Grammar*, p. 2; Read, 'Tradition', p. 463; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 31; Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 18; Fraser, *Primitive people*, pp. 300 ff.; Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 463; Stigand, 'Notes', p. 118; Coxhead, *Native tribes*, p. 20; Hodgson, 'Dowa District', p. 118; Stanley, *Dark Continent*, i, pp. 400, 373; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', pp. 58, 62.

[illegible] Maples, *Journals*, p. 13; Wood, *Native Life*, p. 330.

[illegible] Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 7 and 8; Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 273, 279, 454, 469 ff., 471 f.; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 18; Winterbottom, 'Outline histories', p. 18.

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Mpezeni

This story is followed by Bryant but does not occur in any accounts 173
collected from Ngoni themselves. It seems probable therefore that 669
this seceding section was not numerous or important.[illegible] 167

There are no other disruptions mentioned in the literature, 669
and it seems probable therefore that until the death of Zwangendaba, the State remained largely intact. However the process, common in Bantu Africa, by which rival claimants to a throne succeed only in dividing their kingdom, operated with striking effect as soon as the founder of the State was buried. [648] The elimination of segment 18 has sometimes been suggested as the reason why the State broke up, but it is clear from comparative considerations that a State of this kind was likely at any time to break into a number of independent groups, and that this tendency was greatest at the death or senescence of the king.

About 1840 a number of important people, mainly coming from south of the Zambezi, were killed off as a result of an internal struggle for power in which it appears that the recently captured Tumbuka, who were successful witch-finders, were allied with the [754] Swazi and other Ndwandwe against the Tsonga from the Delagoa Bay region.[illegible] Unfortunately there is very little information available on the relationship of this struggle to the rest of the political system. It is, however, clear that the effect of killing off a large number of Ngoni of Tsonga origin was insufficient to prevent the State breaking up a few years later.

When Zwangendaba died, his sons were still young and, for 173
the time being, effective leadership of the State was disputed 174
between men of his own generation whose positions are shown in
Diagram 2. His brothers, the lords of segments 5 and 6, were already 643
dead. Fraser describes the dispute as a struggle between Ntabeni's children and Mgayi. Ntabeni was a younger brother of Zwangendaba and the lord of segment 7 while Mgayi was Zwangendaba's father's younger brother's son who, on Chibambo's evidence, represented the interests of the residue of segment 1. Rangeley has a slightly different version and makes Mgayi a supporter of segment 4. Poole, presumably following Fraser, says with some qualification that Ntabeni and Mgayi both claimed the chieftainship. From what we know of the south-eastern Bantu, and from our knowledge of present-day Ngoni, it seems unlikely that a brother would claim to be the legitimate heir in preference to a son, however much he might strive to gain ascendancy over the son. It seems preferable to follow Young and Chibambo in regarding Ntabeni and Mgayi

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[illegible] Posselt, *Fact and fiction*, pp. 146-7, 178; Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 464 f.

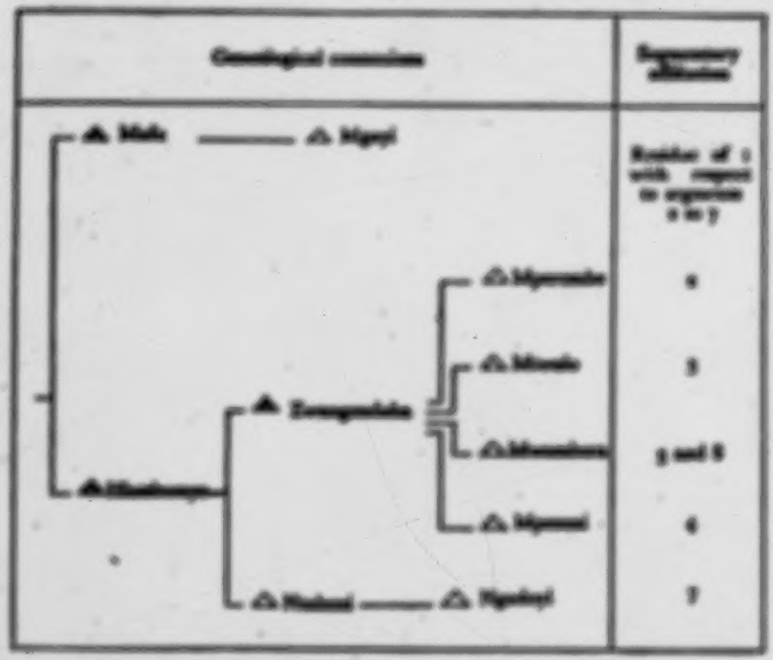
[illegible] See p. 87.

178
187
643

as acting as regent in turn on behalf of the young sons of Zwangendaba.*

The various published accounts of the succession differ from one another and reflect the different interpretations put upon the same event by rival sections of the tribe. Fraser and Young, who worked in northern Nyasaland, say that Zwangendaba chose Mwambera of segment 3 as his heir, and Elmslie says that Mpezeni and others were under Mwambera. From Fort Jameson, Lancaster says that Zwangendaba chose Mpezeni, formerly of segment 18, and Poole, who is supported by Murray, says he nominated Mtwalo, another son in segment 5. Read, who worked in both areas, states

DIAGRAM 2. ZWANGENDABA AND HIS HEIRS


Genealogical connexion
Segmentary allocation
Mafu
Mgayi
Residue of 1 with respect to segments 2 to 7
Mperembe
4
Mtwalo
5
Zwangendaba
Mwambera
3 and 8
Hlachwayo
Mpezeni
6
Ntabeni
Ngodoyi
7

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* For Mgayi's position in the residential system, we have only Chibambo's remark, 'the regent being Mgayi Jere, the father of Mbange, of Ekwendeni', to be compared with Young's and Lancaster's mention of Ezondiwehoweni (Ezondiwehweni) as the village of Mgayi. Lancaster also implies that Mgayi was Zwangendaba's brother's son, which is unlikely. Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 303; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 21ff.; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Young, *History*, pp. 119ff.; Lancaster, 'Tentative', p. 80.

1;Barnes K-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

that 'the history of these years, as related to-day, is largely concerned with proving in each area that their Paramount is the only rightful one'.[illegible] It is not our task to decide between these conflicting stories. What is important for our purposes is firstly that there was a disputed succession, and secondly that present-day rival groups are still concerned each to show that its claimant was the legitimate heir. 173 114 643

Chibambo, who belongs to northern Nyasaland, has a different version. He states that Zwangendaba chose as his heir his younger brother's eldest son Ngodeyi, in segment 7. Such a succession would have been unusual, for Ngodeyi's father, Ntabeni, was still alive, and Chibambo does not discuss why Zwangendaba should have passed over all his own sons. Nor does Chibambo explain why Ntabeni, as regent, should have supported the claims of Zwangendaba's sons as against those of his own son Ngodeyi, for according to his account the regent declared that Mpezeni was the rightful heir. The lady of segment 3 had earlier quarrelled with the regent, lord of segment 7,[illegible] and now to spite her he declared that the next in succession after Mpezeni was not her eldest son Mwambera but Mtwalo, the eldest son of one of her subordinate co-wives.[illegible] Chibambo suggests that it was this quarrel which led the regent to support Mpezeni as against the legitimate claims of segment 3. 173 643

The regent established a new segment 4, Msongeleni, for Mpezeni and his mother, and within segment 3 formed a separate segment 8, Emchakachakeni or Ezigodibeni, for Mwambera and his mother, thus leaving Mtwalo and his mother in the headquarters of segment 3.

Chibambo states that Gwaza Jere, senior lieutenant of segment 1, supported the regent when he selected Mpezeni as Zwangendaba's heir, while Young says he strongly opposed it; both writers agree that after Mpezeni had been chosen there was a quarrel between the regent and the headquarters of segment 1.[illegible] Ntabeni, the regent, died shortly afterwards and his segment 7 broke off from the rest of the group. They were pursued by a party from segment 1 headquarters, but made their escape. The regentship now passed

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[illegible] Fraser, loc. cit.; Young, loc. cit.; Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 27; Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 78; Fraser, *Native tribes*, p. 8; Murray, *Handbook*, pp. 24 f.; Read, 'Tradition and prestige', p. 464; cf. Winterbottom, 'Outline histories', p. 17.

[illegible] Bruwer, MS, p. 14; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 60.

[illegible] A linked co-wife, according to Winterbottom. However, his name for Mwambera's mother differs from that given by Chibambo, who merely says that the two wives were sisters. Winterbottom, 'Angoni paramountcy', p. 128; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 18.

[illegible] cf. *Occasional papers for Nyasaland*, 2, pp. 24 f.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

173 to Zwangendaba's father's brother's son Mgayi, of the residue of
643 segment 1.

Elmslie states that Ntabeni's people, i.e. those of segment 7, went northward
173 on the west side of Tanganyika and he is followed in this by Murray, Bryant and
Tew. Elmslie bases his statement on Stewart, who heard of them there in 1879.
167 However, Stewart did not visit the west side of Lake Tanganyika himself, and
[illegible] merely gathered his information from people in a Mambwe village on his way to
the lake in October 1879. The account of the Ngoni that they gave him was
643 incorrect in a number of particulars, and we have, therefore, to treat with
caution their statement about the existence of an Ngoni group west of Lake
Tanganyika. Even if part of this segment did settle there, it is certain that the
whole of segment 7 did not. Hatchell gives genealogical information for the
group of Ngoni at present near Rusawa, Kahama District, Tanganyika Territory,
which links them to Ntabeni and segment 7. Stanley describes an Ngoni group
which attacked Ujiji and was allied to Mirambo, and in the light of Hatchell's
account it is certain that Stanley is here referring to part, if not the whole, of
segment 7. This interpretation is made by Fraser, and is in accord with Young
and Chibambo. Hence we may conclude that the main body of segment 7 went
north on the east side of Lake Tanganyika and eventually settled in Kahama
District.

Part of segment 7 may have split off and gone elsewhere, possibly to the west of the lake. Hatchell, in his account of the Kahama group, does not mention Ngodoyi, son of Ntabeni, and it is possible that he may have led a group elsewhere although Rangeley states that it was his following that reached Kahama. Hatchell and Winterbottom write of an abortive expedition by Zwangendaba to the western shores of Lake Tanganyika but make no mention of a group remaining there.

This interpretation conflicts with Elmslie, who says that segment 7 was west of the lake while the group encountered by Stanley were a separate group led by Ntuta. Elmslie does not say who Ntuta was, but it is clear from the context that he does not refer to Ntuta Mpezeni. Hatchell does not mention the name Ntuta in his genealogies. Elmslie may, therefore, have been misled on this point.

The only other writer to mention a group west of the lake is Poole, who says that Ntabeni settled west of the lake in Nyamwezi country, where they were known as Watuta, and, co-operating with the Ruga-Ruga, were encountered by Livingstone and Stanley in 1871. Since in 1871 Livingstone, Stanley, the Ruga-Ruga, and the main body of Nyamwezi were all east of the lake, it appears that Poole intended to write 'east', not 'west'.

Colle refers to contact between the Ngoni and Luba, but the section of Luba with whom the Ngoni fought had crossed from the Congo to the east side of Lake Tanganyika before encountering the Ngoni. The existence of an Ngoni group on the west side of Lake Tanganyika seems therefore to be doubtful.*

Fraser says that Mgayi led the main body, including Mpezeni, Mombera, and Mperembe, as far north as Victoria Nyanza. Finding the country poor, he led them back towards Sukuma country, but died on the way. Fraser is followed by Poole, Sugu and Winterbottom. It is perhaps significant that Fraser does not

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* Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, pp. 25-7; Murray, *Handbook*, p. 25; Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 468; Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 94; Stewart, 'Lake Nyassa', p. 268; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Hatchell, 'Tanganyika territory' (1935), pp. 69 f.; Stanley, *Dark Continent*, i, p. 490; Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 313; Young, *History*, p. 113; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 25; Colle, *Baluba*, p. 63; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 60.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

mention Ntabeni's group as reaching Victoria Nyanza, and it may be that he has merely attributed this exploit to the wrong group. Such an interpretation would be in accord with the accounts of Elmslie, Young, Chibambo and Rangeley, and following them, Bryant and Tew. All these writers imply that the main body of Ngoni did not go farther north than Ufipa. It also provides a more reasonable chronology, for by Fraser's version we have to assume that within only about five years the main body of Ngoni traversed Tanganyika Territory from south to north and then back again. Lancaster is inconclusive on this point.* 173 114 167 668

7. *Mpezeni's kingdom*

Mgayi did not live long as regent and after his death the senior lieutenant of segment 1 made Mpezeni chief. There was a considerable shortage of food at the time and this, combined with dissension in the tribe about the succession, appears to have precipitated a further split. A follower of Zwangendaba called Zulu Gama, whose position in the segmentary organization seems not to have been recorded, led his segment off to the east, where in the vicinity of Songea he met with that group of Maseko Ngoni which we have mentioned earlier, and who probably broke off from the Ndebele some time prior to 1835. For a while the two groups operated as one but soon they split apart. Some people stayed on in Songea District, others went south and eventually rounded the southern end of Lake Nyasa to arrive in the Dedza District of southern Nyasaland, where they remain to-day. 173 167 668 643 631

Of those that remained behind under Mpezeni, the principal cleavage was between segments 2, 4, 5 and 6, all led by Mpezeni, on the one side and segment 3 with the headquarters of segment 1 on the other. Led by the senior lieutenant of segment 1, the latter group moved off to the south-east while Mpezeni moved west. While in the country of the Bisa, segment 2 broke off from Mpezeni and after settling for a while in Bemba country as an independent group it eventually went back to join segment 3. Mpezeni, with segments 4, 5 and 6, went south and eventually arrived in Fort Jameson District. His leadership of these segments seems not to have been questioned, but in the other group the senior lieutenant of segment 1 at first supported the headquarters of segment 3 against the claims to the chieftainship made by segment 8. Mtwalo, the son of Zwangendaba who had been put in charge of the headquarters of segment 3, protested, however, that the real head of that segment was Mwambera, head of segment 8, who thus became chief. 173 167 631 643

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* Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 273; Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 273; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Winterbottom, 'Outline histories', p. 18; Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 27; Young, *History*, pp. 115f.; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 29ff.; Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 467; Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 94; Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 86; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 63.

When it arrived in Fort Jameson District Mpezeni's group
173 consisted of three segments 4, 5 and 6, all of which belonged to the
617 now dispersed segment 1. By virtue of his claim to be the heir of
631 Zwangendaba, and hence the lord of segment 1, Mpezeni exercised
648 control over segments 6 and 7 as well as over his own segment 4.
It appears that the same procedure was adopted with these adhering segments as was followed earlier with the small groups of independent refugees who joined Zwangendaba near Delagoa Bay. For purposes of organization they were attached to the headquarters of the highest segment. As the headquarters of segment 1 had gone away with Mwambera's group, the senior segment headquarters in Mpezeni's group was now that of segment 4, and it was to this village that people from all three segments came to the first fruits festival, and which we may perhaps regard as the capital of Mpezeni's State.

It so happened that in 1898 when British Administration began in this area, the headquarters and most of the dependent villages of segments 6 and 7 lay on the east side of the Zambezi-Nyasa watershed, and the bulk of segment 4 on the west. We might expect that at any place at which this Ngoni group settled, the three major segments of the State would occupy roughly distinct areas, and that as segments 6 and 7 were smaller than segment 4 they might lie on the fringe of the settlement. What appears to have happened is that the Ngoni moved eastwards into that region where the Europeans first found them, and that they were contemplating moving farther east into the present Nyasaland. Segments 6 and 7 were in the van of this advance, and the watershed, which here runs very roughly north and south, happened by accident to separate them from segment 4. This accident has been of considerable importance in the subsequent history of Mpezeni's group,
[648] for while segment 4 found itself in the territory of North-Eastern
Rhodesia, administered by the British South Africa Company, segments 5 and 6 formed part of the Nyasaland Protectorate, under the Foreign Office. Thus the State was again divided into two, and the Native Authorities which have developed belong to two separate hierarchies of administration.

In this study we are particularly concerned with the fortunes
173 of segment 4, in Northern Rhodesia. Although Mpezeni was the
643 head of this segment, it seems that his physiological mother was not
615 lady of the segment, for she was only a junior linked co-wife.
647 However this woman was promoted to independent status by the
595 formation, within segment 4, of segment 11 (Dingeni) of which she
became the lady. The senior man in this segment was her second

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

son, while her first son Mpezeni remained head of segment 4 as he had been borne by her linked senior. Traditionally, a junior linked co-wife who had borne sons that had been taken over by her linked senior might be rewarded for her services by the formation of her own segment, to which she took her youngest son, and the disposition of sons in segments 4 and 11 was in accord with this principle. Another wife of Zwangendaba who was attached to segment 4 was given her own segment 12 (Mkutweni) in which she lived with two linked juniors and other quasi-related dependants. A lieutenant of segment 4 made his own inferior segment 9 (Cikwakhweni). 177 613 643 644 595

At the next generation level Mpezeni created segment 10 (Loangeni) for his great wife and later established two subsidiary levies of wives in segments 14 (Fumbeni) and 15 (Cimpinga). Within one of these, segment 14, a junior wife made her own segment 17 (Ngiyelweni) and Mpezeni placed another wife in the headquarters of segment 4, in accordance with the custom by which the heir to any large segment placed one of his wives in the headquarters of that segment. Finally, in each of segments 10 and 11, a lieutenant broke out of the headquarters to found his own segment, namely 13 (Tandweni) and 16 (Falaseni) respectively. Many other segments, large and small, were created but we have now mentioned all the segments under Mpezeni's control which later became the nuclei of counties in the Native Authority system and whose relative positions are shown in Diagram 1.

8. *Foreign policy*

The Fort Jameson Ngoni are described by pre-conquest travellers as living during the 1890s in a compact area surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country, beyond which were the tribes they raided. It seems probable that this spatial arrangement was not followed consistently throughout their history and that at various times and places the Ngoni came to some agreement with their neighbours whereby they either settled among them or established a settled rule over them. Thus Young, writing of the period 1835-9, says that the Ngoni settled among the Senga (Nsenga). Chibambo, however, says of the same period that the Ngoni 'captured many Senga without difficulty'.[20] The evidence is more definite for the period 1860-80, so far as Mombera's group is concerned. Chibambo lists the tribes conquered by Mombera in this period and adds: 'After overcoming them the Ngoni acted wisely; they did not break up local rule, or ways of 173 361 721 173 636 727

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[20] Young, *History*, p. 111; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 22.

[77] 636 227 worship. They allowed the local chiefs to govern their people according to their own laws and customs, but under the authority of the Ngoni. They followed the method of governing which Europeans call "indirect rule".' They also took selected children from the conquered peoples and reared them as Ngoni in Ngoni villages. Young's account supports this.[28] Whether or not this method of government was wise is clearly a matter of opinion. It is perhaps significant that for Mpezeni's people the evidence provided by the present disposition of persons claiming descent from different ethnic groups suggests that a different policy was followed there. Chibambo and Young talk of groups of warriors under Mwambera belonging to various subjugated tribes; in Mpezeni's area captured men appear to have been drafted into [541] the various age-set regiments, so that men from the same tribe were distributed throughout the army and did not form a distinct group. Territorially, the dispersion of captives from the same tribe was not [73] 563 727 so complete, for it appears that in Mpezeni's group the major segment settled on the east of the Ngoni area raided mostly to the east, and the western segment to the west, and so on, so that many of the captives taken from a particular locality were to be found in the major segment of the State nearest their homeland. Yet even this concentration of captives with the same ethnic origin was not complete, ~~but~~ representatives from all the principal tribes with whom the Ngoni came into contact are nowadays to be found in all parts of Mpezeni's Ngoniland. We suggest that this policy of assimilation, practised to a much greater degree by Mpezeni than by Mwambera, may be correlated with the fact that in Mpezeni's group there were no revolts by groups of captives of common origin, whereas in Mwambera's there were three such revolts, by Lake Tonga, Kamanga and Henga tribesmen.

[73] 721 648 Mwambera attacked the Cewa chief Mwase Kasungu some time round about 1880, and was driven off in the face of fire from guns Mwase had obtained from Arabs. He subsequently came to an agreement with Mwase whereby the Cewa chief became his 'child' and lent him soldiers armed with guns to assist in Ngoni raids. Travellers suggest that later Mwase came to an agreement with Mpezeni as well, but this is not so certain. Mpezeni does seem to have established peaceful relations with one or two minor chieftains during the period of early European contact,[29] but for

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[28] Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 39-41; Young, *History*, p. 119.

[29] e.g. Cuntala, a Kunda chief and Mburu, who had Kunda and Nsenga commoners. Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 11; Sharpe, 'Journey from Lake Nyasa', p. 346.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

the most part all external relations were warlike. The State, as it were, was internally an organisation of segments and externally stood poised against an undifferentiated hostile world. Even with the Maseko Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, the Ngoni group spatially nearest to Mpezeni, relations were warlike. 173 648 721

Despite this hostility, it seems probable that some individuals from the neighbouring tribes did leave their own country and join the Ngoni of their own free will. I was given accounts of this in a number of family and village histories, and while it is possible that some of those people whose ancestors were captured may now think it preferable to speak of voluntary attachment to the Ngoni State rather than capture, I do not think this can be the complete explanation. In the first place, very many Ngoni of to-day are quite prepared to admit that their ancestors were captured on Ngoni raids, so that the desire to conceal the capture of an ancestor, if it exists at all, cannot be widespread. On the contrary, some Cewa chiefs and notables who are now politically independent of the Ngoni and live in their own chiefdoms will recount with great interest how their ancestors were captured by the Ngoni. Secondly, some of those who claim that their ancestors joined the Ngoni of their own volition come from places a long way distant from Ngoni country, where the frequency of Ngoni raids cannot have been high, even if the Ngoni ever raided there at all. For instance, one village claims that its people came voluntarily from as far away as Fingoe, in Portuguese East Africa. Thirdly, there is a well-known instance of a son and other close relatives of an Nsenga chief who joined the Ngoni and rose to high position in the State. The Ngoni Paramount Chief and some of the minor chiefs are still friendly with the descendants of this Nsenga chief, Kalindawalo, and the story that these Nsenga nobles were not captured but were instructed by their own chief to transfer their allegiance to the Ngoni seems probably to be true, despite a contrary tradition among the Nsenga that these men were taken as captives.[illegible] Lastly there is the evidence of Glave, writing in 1894, who says that a host of villages had given themselves up to the Ngoni rather than submit to the constant anxiety of attack.[illegible] Thus provision was made for men and women to join the State other than as captives. These volunteers were treated in the same way as captives. They were allocated, either as individuals or in small groups, to a segment and came under the orders of a lord or lady. The Ngoni lived at a much higher standard [58]

173 167 648 727

[illegible] cf. Field, [illegible], p. 16; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 40-4.

[illegible] [illegible] See also Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 438.

173 167 [illegible] 724 591 of life than their neighbours, largely at the expense of those neighbours. It is therefore not surprising that at least some of the more adventurous of the hunted should have decided to join the ranks of the hunters.

In Tanganyika the activities of the Arabs and other slave traders brought about significant changes in Ngoni society earlier 173 648 than in the less accessible Nyasa region. The Ngoni in Tanganyika did not regard their neighbours merely as enemies. Ngoni warriors formed part of the army of Mirambo, the Nyamwezi slave trader. An elaborate network of joking relationships seems to have regulated intercourse between the tribes of Tanganyika and the Tanganyika Ngoni were linked to many of their neighbours in this way.[illegible] Joking relationships of this kind did not develop among the Fort Jameson Ngoni. In recent times, however, Ngoni from Fort Jameson have come into contact on the Copperbelt and elsewhere with tribes such as the Bemba who have developed a joking relationship with other Ngoni groups. These joking relationships are now extended to the Fort Jameson men.

From this historical account we are able to gain some idea of 173 109 Ngoni polity during the mid-nineteenth century. We have restricted our attention to the relations existing between major portions of the State and between the State and its neighbours. We have seen how forms of organization, in particular the lineage system, with which the Ngoni began their march, were modified in conformity with the peculiar conditions of migrant brigandage. In the next chapter we shall look more closely at the internal organization of the State and attempt to analyse the social processes at work within it.

[illegible] See the writings of Moreau, Pedler, Richards and Spies.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

Chapter Two

THE SNOWBALL STATE

1. Manipulation 2. Age-sets 3. Officers of State 4. Continually segmenting systems 5. Lineage systems compared 6. Splitting the State 7. Stability

1. *Manipulation*

In our first chapter we outlined some of the more significant events in Ngoni history prior to the arrival of Europeans. In this chapter we shall examine the political system within which these events took place. It is not the task of social analysis to determine why these or any other events occurred. What we shall attempt is a discussion of how they occurred, and what were the principal social relations involved in them. |21| |28

Most of the incidents referred to in the first chapter concerned the State as a whole or the royal family. Nevertheless, when we begin to consider the conditions under which the State endured we have to discuss the social position of ordinary men and women within the State. For the Ngoni State held together as an organized social group, and on occasion failed to hold together, not merely because Zwangendaba was a good leader or his sons quarrelsome or his brothers ambitious, or because his people were bound by custom and knew no better, but also, and in our view mainly, because the State was a viable social entity in its time and place. The arrangement of people into segments and age-sets was not a mere formal and static division, but a means whereby a motley heterogeneous collection of individuals was converted into an organized society with agreed aims. The structure of the State had rules; in other words there was regularity in its social processes. Yet it was a structure which, within these rules, could be manipulated. The structure could be, and was, utilized by individuals for the realization of their private ends at the expense of others as well as providing for the common good. This is probably true of all social systems. We shall begin our analysis by examining the ways in which this manipulation was carried out. 642 |82 661 557

In most societies, from the simplest system of hunting bands to the complex societies of the modern world, one of the most significant sets of rights are those relating to fixed natural resources. The structure of rights in land provides a key to the structure of society. 423 |81|

423 society. This was not so among the Ngoni. We know little about the way in which rights in cultivated and grazing-lands, hunting-rights and rights to water were distributed in the old Ngoni State, but if the present position is any guide, it seems likely that there was no well-developed system of land-holding. After dwelling in 361 any one area for five years or so, the tribe moved on, partly because [311] the fertility of the soil had been exhausted and partly for other reasons. Thus rights to land did not endure; land itself was expendable. What endured was merely the pattern of residential settlement, the arrangement of people in clusters and divisions and villages. Men and women lived where they belonged in the segmentary residential system, and relative geographical position did not determine, but was determined by, political affiliation.

557 651 Power in the State was thus power over people rather than over natural resources. It is true that cattle were valuable, but 231 even they appear to have been eaten rather more often than in many tribes in which cattle are a form of wealth and investment rather [262] than a regular item of diet. Furthermore, there was the doctrine [423] that all cattle belonged to the Paramount Chief, so that village [643] headmen with cattle in their byres held them, as it were, only by favour of the chief. The principal index of power was the number of a man's dependants. Political struggles were essentially not [664] struggles to control wealth but to enjoy the support of followers. The main source of dependants was from raiding, and hence the [727] allocation of captives was crucial to the working of the social system.

Fraser writes of the northern Nyasaland Ngoni, that warriors 727 kept their own captives.[1] This does not seem to have been the usual procedure among the Fort Jameson group. Although some informants spoke as if they, or their forebears, had been actually taken by the person who became their lord, others said that in [643] general all captives belonged to the Paramount Chief, and that he could allocate them as he wished; usually, however, he allocated them to the warriors who had captured them. It was a specific privilege of regional governors to keep their own captives. It seems probable that the Paramount Chief's allocations were made to the heads of segments to which the warriors belonged, for many of my informants were said to have been captured by a few people, some of whom are described by contemporary travellers as generals and war-leaders, and who are unlikely to have made many front-line captures themselves. Moreover, it seems that on small raids [72] organized by the head of a major segment, not on a national scale,

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[1] Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 37.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

captives were retained within the segment. In later years, at least, 727
small-scale raiding organized by segment heads went on without the 724
Paramount Chief's knowledge and it seems unlikely under those
conditions that captives would have been sent in to him.

There is confirmatory evidence from other Ngoni groups. Hodgson wrote of the Dowa group that a warrior who had captured three or more people had one returned to him by the chief,[1] from which we may infer that they were at the disposal of the chief. For the Southern Ngoni, who are not so closely related to the Fort Jameson group as are those in northern Nyasaland and Dowa District, Read wrote that the Paramount Chief had a monopoly 8-14
of slaves taken in war and that he distributed these to successful warriors, his wives and his relations.[2]

Cattle were handled in much the same way as captives. There 731
was a dogma that all cattle belonged to the Paramount Chief, but 732
they were dispersed among the different villages and kept in the 643
byres there. The lord of a major segment had effective control of 727
the cattle in his own village and, when he chose to exercise it, in the other villages of his segment as well. When the Paramount Chief visited a village, cattle were killed in his honour and he was praised as the giver of the feast, but in the chief's absence the head of the village decided when beasts were to be killed. A lord appointed his lieutenants to look after his cattle as well as his people. When cattle had been taken on a raid, they were driven back to Ngoniland and then allocated to a lord.

Cattle for bridewealth were provided for a man by his lord. 587
However it seems possible that a large proportion of the marriages 734
made by politically unimportant people were not ratified by the passage of cattle.[3]

Such evidence as there is suggests that the Ngoni consumed 731
their cattle faster than many similar cattle people and, as with 732
dependants, they captured cattle more than they reared them. 727
People speak of the days before the conquest as a time when they lived entirely on meat and beer. Poole suggests that the Ngoni produced little or no food in their own country,[4] and while this is plainly contradicted by contemporary evidence, it is probable that they did rely on raiding to supplement their supplies of cattle and cereals, and that therefore many captured cattle were used as food. Thus cattle themselves were a short-term asset and the control of

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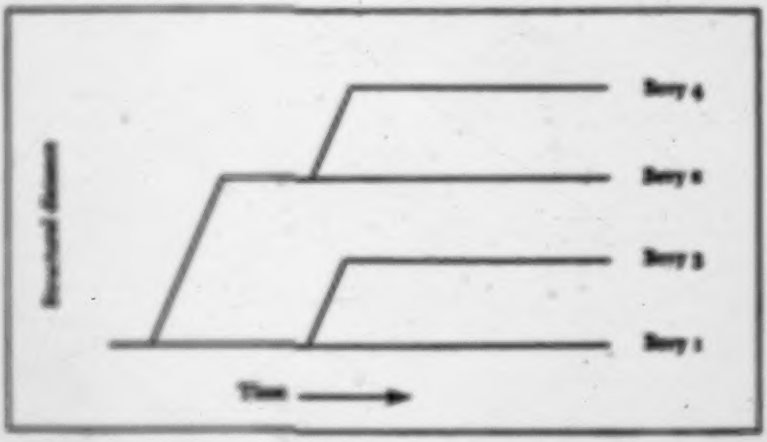
[1] Hodgson, 'Dowa District', p. 135.
[2] Read, 'Standards of Living', p. 60.
[3] cf. Barnes, *Marriage*, pp. 7-8.
[4] Poole, 'Human geography of Lundazi and Petauke', p. 13.

571 cattle did not give rise to any cleavage of interest which was not
224 already present in the residential system.
727 The system could also be manipulated by disputes about
[592 succession. If a man had many bevies of wives there was usually no
571 doubt concerning which was the senior bevy and who was the great
595 wife in it. Yet in general it was not possible to rank a man's bevies
611 in a simple linear order of seniority, any more than the segments

DIAGRAM 3. RANKING OF BEVIES



to which they corresponded could be ordered in this way. In topological terms, ranking of bevies and of segments among the Ngoni was only partially, not simply, ordered. An example, illustrated in Diagram 3, will make this clear.

Suppose a man started with bevy 1 and then took part of it to form bevy 2. Later he took another part of bevy 1 to form bevy 3 and took part of bevy 2 to form bevy 4. With four bevies of wives, his senior bevy was bevy 1 and his great wife was the leader of bevy 1. Her eldest son was his principal heir, and if she had no sons
592 the eldest son by the next wife in her bevy became heir. But
suppose there was no son by any wife in bevy 1. Which bevy
provided the principal heir? It seems clear that bevy 4 did not, at least not if there were sons in bevy 2, for bevy 2 was senior to bevy 4. Bevy 2 might be regarded as senior to bevy 3, for it was formed from bevy 1 earlier. On the other hand, with reference to bevy 2, bevy 3 was merely a part of bevy 1 and hence the search for heirs should be continued in bevy 3 before shifting to bevy 2. Unfortunately I

have no clear history of this kind of situation, but it seems possible 595
that when there was no heir who could clearly claim ascendancy 611
over the whole of a primal segment, the segment then split into two.
Thus in our example, if there were sons in bevies 2 and 3 but not in
bevy 1, the primal segment formed for the great wife in bevy 1
would in the next generation have split into two segments, one led
by the heir in bevy 2 and the other by the heir in bevy 3. This [578]
hypothesis would be in accord with some of the disputes which I
recorded between eldest sons by different mothers, each claiming
to be the principal heir of their father.

Information drawn from village histories shows that there were 578
sometimes similar disputes about which son of the great wife should 611
be heir. The eldest son could be passed over if he were an obvious 595
fool, and there was, therefore, the possibility of conflict between
those who thought him a fool and those who did not. When the
first wife married did not become the great wife, her eldest son was
sometimes older than the great wife's son, and was sometimes his
rival as heir. The contradiction between superordination by age
and by status of mother among half-brothers brought up in the
same vicinity led to conflict. A fourth mode of conflict was between
a man's son and his lieutenant. Where the son was unsuccessful in
commanding the loyalty of his father's dependants, effective
leadership in his father's segment sometimes passed to the lieutenant.

We should, I think, be mistaken if we regarded these modes of 578
dispute as causes. They were rather the idioms in which, in this 557
particular system, rivalry was expressed between contiguous segments.
Many dependants brought power and prestige for their
lord, and the struggle for dependants went on within this remarkably
flexible and yet orderly system. A man attracted dependants
by remaining loyal to his lord; yet the more dependants he gained
the more he differentiated himself from his lord. If a man was not
the rightful heir in one segment, then he could try to gain the
support of the lord of a higher segment and hope thereby to alter
the distribution of power in the lower one. This consideration
became particularly important after the arrival of Europeans, who [648]
exercised control over the whole State and at the same time were
ignorant of and not bound by the values which maintained the old
system.

We have mentioned the possibility of conflict between heirs 578
arising from the method of ranking bevies. The same principle of 611
ranking applied to segments and headquarters as well as to bevies of 621
wives, and there were similar possibilities of conflict. In certain 654
situations it appears as if that which was founded first was dominant,

557 and in other situations that which was founded last. The head-
591 quarters of the highest segment was in some sense capital of the
611 nation, yet chieftainship had already passed from it and it was less
621 important in other ways than the headquarters founded by the
[643] reigning chief. This apparent contradiction applied within every
large segment. We have endeavoured to isolate these different
contexts by our distinction between primal and residual segments,
but as soon as we attempt to arrange villages or bevies of wives in a
linear order without reference to the relationship of their associated
segments to one another, the contradiction reappears.

A clear and accepted sequence of heirs would have been
621 appropriate to a segmentary system in which segments continued to
618 hold together in all circumstances. Ngoni segments did not do this,
and the simple linear sequence of heirs was lacking. The successive formation of inferior segments implied increased structural separation between the first inferior segment to be formed and the headquarters, and hence less likelihood that the former would provide the main heir. As in lineage systems, the farther back the point of departure from the main line the greater the structural separation from it. But whereas in lineage systems it is the junior lines which are continually diverging from the main stem, in the Ngoni system the main heir was the first to break away from his father, who remained longer in close contact with his junior sons. Seniority within the newly formed undivided segment implied early differentiation within it, and hence early separation from its headquarters. Thus, the general principle of increasing separation with the passage of time, together with the particular principle of segment formation in order of seniority, combined to make a system of great flexibility despite essential regularity and uniformity. On the death of each segment head there was a shift of power within his segment and to some extent a formal recognition of the structural separating which had proceeded gradually during his lifetime. The headquarters founded by successive heads of segments persisted as the home of groups whose interests they symbolized. The history of the segments and of the nation itself was embodied in the relationships enduring between successive headquarters.

When a small segment was founded it was usually manned by
557 people drawn from the rump of the immediately superior segment,
611 that is, from those men and women in the superior segment who
621 had not already been allocated to some inferior segment within it.
However it is clear that this rule was often over-ridden. When the
[622] head of a large segment formed a new inferior segment for a wife or
son he was able to command the services of everyone within his

segment, even of those who had been allocated to existing inferior 557
segments. If he thought fit he could shift them from one inferior 611
segment to another within his own segment. This process was 621
particularly relevant to the formation of new segments for the great [594]
wives of men who were the heirs or lords of large segments. A new lord, making his great wife's segment after the death of his father, did not confine himself to the rump of his father's segment but selected men he thought he could trust from anywhere within his father's primal segment, whether or not they had made segments of their own. Similarly a lord sometimes took a man who occupied an unimportant position in the segment of one of his wives and promoted him to be lieutenant in a newly formed bevy. The more important the lord or heir, the greater the structural distance his dependants could be moved. Thus while the processes by which
the Paramount Chief and a man with only a few followers made [594]
segments for bevies of wives were formally the same, the consequences were quite different. In the former case, many hundreds of people were involved and many key men were shifted in their allegiance in order to provide the new segment with lieutenants and followers. In the latter, few people were concerned and the event was not of general interest. The formal processes remained the same at all levels in society, but what in one case was essentially a political action in which a Paramount Chief acted as head of a State was in the other largely a matter of domestic reorganization. It is characteristic of the Ngoni State that the transition from one state of affairs to the other was a gradual one.

Occasionally a man moved himself from one segment to 621
another on his own initiative. This happened only infrequently 557
and it seems probable that it was only when a man who had quarrelled with his own segment sought asylum with the reigning chief that a move of this kind could be made. Chibambo records an incident in which many men transferred from their former segments to one newly formed by the reigning chief, but adds that later they returned to their old segments. A similar incident from the Fort Jameson group is noted below.* Despite these exceptions it nevertheless remains true that for the most part a man's affiliation to his segment was fixed and could be altered only by the actions of his political superiors.

We have spoken of the formation of segments, but not yet of their disappearance. Many minor segments faded away because their members died or because they were moved elsewhere by a lord. Sometimes a segment ceased to be an effective social unit

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* Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 33; see p. 140.

621/ because of a divergence of interest between one or more of its
597 inferior segments and the residue. In some instances all the people in the segment were killed, as presumably was the intention when Zwangendaba sent warriors to destroy segment 18. In other instances not everyone was killed and those whose lives were spared were drafted to some other part of a major segment to which they belonged. In the only examples I know of, in which either of these last two alternatives was adopted, action was taken by the highest lieutenants in the segments founded for the great wives of reigning chiefs, and was prompted by allegedly hostile acts directed against the chief. Heads of lesser segments could not readily act in this way for although the Paramount Chief and his lieutenants did not possess a monopoly of this power, they regarded its exercise by others with suspicion as a threat to the unity of the State.

If some of the members of an eliminated segment escaped annihilation, they might presently reform themselves into a new segment and begin a separate existence again. If they were not kinsmen of their lord, no structural complications ensued. If, however, relatives of the lord were concerned, then there might be conflict between the position required of them because of their relationship and that in which their new segment was formed.
[621] Thus, if the village of a great wife was annihilated and later a new village was founded for her, this could never replace the original one. Her subordinate bands of co-wives had formed their villages by breaking out from her original village, and that had been their headquarters. The new village was founded after they had made their own, and was not their headquarters, even though they still acknowledged that its head was their great co-wife. As we have seen, such a sequence of events occurred at a critical stage of Ngoni history, and may have influenced the way in which the State split.

2. *Age-sets*

The residential system was dominant in deciding the alignment
561 of persons in most situations, but the waging of war and execution
701 of certain ceremonies were organised on a different basis. The
702 army was divided into age-set regiments. About every three or four years,[1] depending on the military requirements and on the availability of lads of the right age, a new regiment was formed from all the boys aged about fifteen years old. They assembled at the Paramount Chief's great wife's village and were inducted into the army. The chief gave them a regimental name and they came under the orders of his senior lieutenants. An experienced warrior

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[1] cf. Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 470.

from a senior regiment was given command of the new regiment. 561
This post seems not to have been politically so important as it was 701
among the Zulu, where princes commanded regiments. In major [702]
battles, regiments fought as tactical units.

A list of regimental names is given in Table III. Some regiments had more than one proper name, and sometimes that portion of a regiment belonging to a single major segment was given a name of its own.

The regimental system was more formally prescribed than the 561
residential system, in that every lad had to join, and his regiment 557
was, at least initially, fixed for him by his apparent age. But even 701
here there was some possibility of manipulation. Men were expected to defer to members of senior age-sets and a well-favoured warrior might gain promotion from one regiment to the next above, either because of his own prowess in war or because the senior regiment was short of men. There were some offices of leadership within a regiment, but I was unable to discover what they were or how they were filled. Certain warriors were selected for special tasks, such as spying or scouting or forming an advance guard. But the greatest measure of flexibility derived from the nature of the activities carried on under this system. Some men fought well, others did not. Some survived and some were killed in battle. The successful warrior was rewarded by his superiors with dependants and thus he established his own segment. Thus success in one system led to advancement in the other.

On national raids one or more regiments were mobilized and 561
were commanded by a senior lieutenant from the Paramount Chief's 701
great wife's segment. Some informants said that in the line of battle [726]
men from the same segment were separated, so that there would be less chance of their being killed all at once. However within a regiment there must have been cleavages on segmentary lines, for at least in later years the leader of a major segment would from time to time mobilize all the men in his segment belonging to certain regiments and send them off raiding. Thus the Ngoni military system differed from the Zulu, in which the king alone was able to mobilize age-sets. Some of the segmentary divisions within Ngoni regiments had their own proper names. In battle, the men of a regiment might be divided for tactical reasons but this was not a lasting arrangement, and the only permanent cleavages within a regiment appear to have been those determined by the residential system. There does not seem to have been any system of non-territorial sectors, nor was there any organization, apart from the State-organized regiments, by which men of a single segment

[Text continues on page 39]

TABLE III. REGIMENTAL NAMES

561
701

Men's regiments		*Approximate year of formation*	*Women's regiments*	
Information poor	*Information good*		*Information good*	*Information poor*
Majekwane		1821		
Ziolomba		1824		
Somfula		1827		
Macheya Imiti		1830		
Zimpofu		1833		
Makupu		1836		
Ngowongo, Macihungu		1839		
Mangazi, Magazi		1842		
Malunge, Mavimba (a)		1845		
Masapi, Mashapi		1848		
Manyoka, Zinyoka		1851		
Manyinsa, Manyisa		1854		
Majuwela		1857		
Majunge, Mayunge		1859		
Maiyiza (c)		1861		
	Zinkhonde, Macaiya	1863		
Masala		1866		
	Macona	1869		
Maola (d)		1871		
Zinyati	Manyela	1874		
	Mabema (b)	1877		Matesa
Maola (d)		1879		
Masoo, Mazoo		1882		
	Kabacenda	1885	Mashombiza	Matukya
	Mafelakudeni	1889	Magalela	Mashetse
Lembani, Maiyiza (c)	Cimale, Lembalemba	1892	Mashumela	Makanya
	Mtani, Cotamoto	1895	Maichosa	Mekela ng'ombe
	Azola	1900	Macaiya	
	Ngazaza (c)	1906	Mambonya	
	Ngaziaiya	1912	Mtetema	
	Ciwombola, Nganya	1914		Mekela
	Kalusilo, Mcolokoto	1920	Gwaula	

[562]

[Footnotes on page 39]

could assemble for hunting and fighting, similar to the sectors 561
attached to chiefly villages among the Zulu.[1] 701

Women were organized into parallel age-sets, led by daughters of the royal line and other important young women. Men and [562] women of corresponding sets danced together on ceremonial occasions, and among themselves women in a regiment used to fight 'to see who was strongest'. After marriage a woman ceased to participate actively in these regimental dances and fights.

The most important national festival was the first fruits 561 ceremony held annually at the headquarters of Zwangendaba's 796 great wife's segment. This was organized on an age-set basis, and there was much competitive dancing. Special songs were sung, and on conclusion of the ceremony a large national raid might be [726] undertaken.

The Ngoni depended largely on the efficiency of their army 561 for the continual inflow of captives on which the strength and 701 continued existence of the State depended. The age-set system 727 provided them with an efficient army, and in addition was a means whereby the centrifugal tendency inherent in their segmentary system was partly checked.

Each major segment had members in each regiment, and each 561 regiment was drawn from every major segment. It provided the 701 central authority with an instrument by which the segments could 621 be held together, for on national raids the young men of every segment were in danger. No one segment, save the State itself, could claim the glory for a successful battle, but only the regiments involved. The Paramount Chief did not possess a complete mono- [643] poly of force, for we have already noted that sometimes segment heads organized their own raids. But these were small affairs,

[1] cf. Gluckman, 'Kingdom of the Zulu', p. 31.

←1

(a) Mpezeni I's regiment. Lancaster says Mpezeni I was in Mayunge. [114]
(b) Nsingu's regiment.
(c) Mpezeni II's regiment.
(d) Masla. Wiese and some of my informants support the earlier position; Lancaster and other of my informants support the later one.
(e) Maiyisa. Lancaster and one of my informants support the earlier position; a more reliable informant supports the later one.

Wiese gives two other regimental names. His Madouda or Madoda is merely the status term *madoda*, meaning 'mature, respected and important men'. His other regimental name, Madjinga or Madjinga, is probably also a status term, meaning 'very old men'. Rangeley has the names Tatakalulu, Mang'ombe, Isimpisi, Mabeke, Mahacu, Zimfesi, Manyoni. [559]

Sources: twenty-three independent informants, offering partly conflicting accounts; Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 477, and 'Geschichte', p. 195; Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 82; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 59.

1[Footnotes pertain to table III, page 38.—Analyst]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

56/ involving perhaps between a dozen and a hundred men, whereas 62/ the Paramount Chief could, so long as the State remained intact, 70/ command the services of perhaps 10,000 warriors.

This unifying effect of the age-set system applied particularly 56/ to the recent captives. It appears to have been through the regimental 727 system that recent captives, both men and women, were indoctrinated 621 into Ngoni ways and made to feel that they, too, were Ngoni. In the residential system, recent captives were dependants rather than lords. In the age-set system there was no such distinction. Men captives were drafted into the regiment appropriate [702] to their apparent age, and boys were enrolled with their coevals. They were called upon to fight in the same way as their aristocratic comrades, and were offered the same prospects of promotion, both within the age-set system and in the segmentary organization, as a result of successful fighting. Many of the well-remembered segment heads who achieved rapid promotion after capture are described as being successful warriors.

The annual first fruits ceremony (*inwala*) was organized on an 56/ age-set basis. Although I was not able to establish details of this 796 ceremony, it is clear that it was the most memorable national ceremony in the year, and that it provided supernatural sanction to the cohesion of the State and of the various regiments, under the leadership of the Paramount Chief. There were dances and mock fighting between regiments, and women also fought with each other in age-set groups of some kind or other. Read states that the description of the ceremony she was given showed much similarity with the corresponding Swazi ceremony. Commentators on the [711] Swazi and Zulu ceremonies describe them as strengthening the army and the kingship and unifying the nation, by a dramatic exaggeration of the conflicts as well as the links within it, and it is probable that this was true also of the Ngoni.*

[167] The Ngoni and their neighbours formed part of a wide social system, and the relationship between them was a political one. 648 When the Ngoni moved from place to place, the area round them 631 was vacated by its former inhabitants, so as to leave a dwelling-area for the Ngoni and a no-man's-land isolating it from other inhabited areas. These moves were forced on the indigenous people by Ngoni raids. There were no direct relations between [722] States, for there was little concerted opposition to Ngoni raiding

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* cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 470; Kuper *African Aristocracy*, pp. 203-5; Gluckman, '*First fruits ceremonies*', pp. 30-3. The Swazi ceremony is called *incwala*, and Read's informants called it *ingcwala*, but my informants had lost their click consonants.

and the Ngoni did not seek to vanquish other tribes as states but rather to exhaust them by continued attrition. In later years it appears that a few minor chiefs who lived near the Fort Jameson group did manage to come to some agreement with it, for the Ngoni seem to have raided them only sporadically although warriors passed through their territories en route for more distant objectives; but this may have been due to the intervention of European traders. The powerful Cewa chief, Mwase Kasungu, may also have come to some arrangement with the Fort Jameson group even as he did with the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland. 648 691 [712]

Thus for the most part the external relations of the Ngoni State were warlike. The Ngoni did not trade with their neighbours, or send ambassadors to them, or enter into alliances with them; they merely killed or captured them.[illegible] The army was organized on a basis of age-sets, but the age-sets as such did not enter into political relations with their enemies. They merely executed the policy of the State or of the major segment to which they belonged. 648 761 701

3. *Officers of State*

The residential and age-set systems formed the structure of the State and there was no separate administrative system. There was little specialization of function among those who wielded power in the State, and those who did have special governmental tasks were all the lords of large segments. 692 631

The nearest approach to special political officers is to be found among the regional governors. A few of Zwangendaba's followers were with him from the beginning of his journey from Natal. Some of these were his agnates, but the descendants of others have now forgotten what relationship, if any, they bore to him. These early followers did not stand in the lord-lieutenant relationship to Zwangendaba, for in Ngoni usage all lieutenants were captives, or the descendants of captives, of their lords. They were organized in segments in the same way as everyone else, but the heads of some of these segments were known by the special term *umlumuzana* which I have translated as regional governor. Segments headed by regional governors were attached like other large segments to the various royal headquarters, and thus became primary divisions of the segments formed for queens. They differed from the lieutenants of the royal headquarters not only in their title but also in the greater freedom they were allowed in their segments. They kept their own villages separate from the royal villages to which they were attached politically. 631

[illegible] See pp. 25*ff*.

63] The title of regional governor was also awarded by the Paramount Chief to certain of his favoured lieutenants. These promoted lieutenants, with their segments, retained their positions in the residential system unaltered but they were allowed to keep their own captives, a privilege of all regional governors. It seems probable, from incomplete information, that there were about a dozen regional governors of one kind or the other in the Fort Jameson group in 1898.[illegible] Despite the early date at which some of the regional governors' segments were formed during the migration, they did not expand as rapidly as did the segments led by the chief's queens and lieutenants, and in 1898 they comprised only a small portion of the State. In this respect the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland were organized differently, for there Read writes that the whole country was divided among regional governors, save for a central capital.[illegible] One of my informants stated that the head of a segment containing more than one village was never known as the lieutenant of his lord but was called, if he were not a kinsman of his lord, by the title regional governor. This is not true to-day, and in view of the large number of present-day commoner villages which claim to have been founded before the conquest, and whose heads are not regional governors, it seems unlikely to have been true earlier. On the other hand, all regional governors to-day are lords of segments containing more than one village, and this may well have been true before 1898 as well.

[37] [36] There were other minor honours similar to the title of regional governor and often awarded to the same people. These were the right to use the royal descent name *jere*, the right to a special praise name [illegible], and the right to wear ox bones as a decoration.[illegible]

62 63 Wiese mentions certain special lieutenants who carried out tasks comparable to those of ministers of State. He describes three officials, one a minister for the interior, apparently responsible for the Paramount Chief's domestic affairs; another a minister of war who was also high priest; and the third a master of ceremonies at national festivals. He says that the ministers carried out these special tasks in addition to their ordinary duties as lieutenants, and gives the names of two of the three, who were the first lieutenants of two major sections.[illegible] Thus although there was some differen-

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[illegible] See Table VII. The sample used in this table contains more villages founded by regional governors than would occur in a representative sample.

[illegible] Read, 'Tradition', p. 16.

[illegible] Bruwer, *Mfeti*, p. 23; Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 479, and 'Geschichte', p. 198.

[illegible] Wiese, 'Expedição', pp. 469-70 and 'Geschichte', p. 188. These two men were the first lieutenants of segments 14 and 4.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

tinction of function between the senior lieutenants of the Paramount 685
Chief, it is improbable that there were any special political offices 631
outside the residential system.

Read mentions a political hierarchy with various titles.[15] At 631
least in the Fort Jameson group, three of the four vernacular terms
she gives were used in connexion with the residential system. The [629]
fourth, *amanxusa*, was used in Zulu for messengers sent by a chief
and a dialectical variant of this (*manyusa*) is so used nowadays at
Fort Jameson. They have no executive authority and do not seem to
have had any in the past.

Fraser, writing of the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, says that there were two groups of lieutenants, one composed of men who became Ngoni before the crossing of the Zambezi and which exercised civil power, and the other which included men of more recent incorporation into the Ngoni tribe and which supplied the war leaders. He implies that the war leaders did not take part in the civil administration.

There seems not to have been this distinction between civil and 681
military lieutenants among the Fort Jameson group. Wiese's 701
'Minister of War', who was referred to as a Commander-in-Chief by
other contemporary writers, was a segment head with the same responsibilities towards his people as anyone else. The regiments had leaders responsible for the tactical control of warriors, some of whom were recently incorporated men, and presumably Fraser is referring to them, but his statement that the man often chosen to lead the whole army had no voice in the council conflicts with Elmslie's account of the same place and period. The war leader, Ng'onomo, who is mentioned by Fraser, acted as regent on the death of the Paramount Chief in northern Nyasaland.[16]

The village as such had an importance independent of the 681
size or order of segment of which it was headquarters or by which
it was inhabited. There were no special terms for distinguishing 622
the heads of large or small segments, for all were lords or ladies.
But a special term[17] was used for a village headman, irrespective of the order of segment of which he was lord, provided he was not a lieutenant who had become head of the village in the absence of agnatic descendants of the founder. The use of a special term may
have been an indication of the village headman's importance, part [422]
of which derived from the control he exercised over the cattle

[15] Read, 'Tradition', p. 461. cf. her account of the southern Ngoni in 'Standards', p. 16.

[16] Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 32. cf. Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, pp. 121, 289.

[17] *Isikhulwana*. In Zulu, a small or petty chief. cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 461.

63/ 622 kept at his village. Although his lords, and ultimately the Paramount Chief, had rights in the cattle, their day-to-day care was [622] his responsibility and he had in practice the greatest say in their disposal, either for consumption, for payment of bridewealth, or for damages awarded against a member of his segment. He was head of the most clearly demarcated local group and was responsible for it to the heads of superior segments. The village was the cattle-herding unit, but for agricultural tasks it seems probable 276/ that in large villages the co-operative unit was the division. Agricultural work was directed, at least so far as women were 462 concerned, by the lady of the division. I have no clear information on how domestic tasks such as cooking were organized within the village but it seems probable that individual women cooked for their husbands and for the children in their care.[illegible]

36/ 622 Fraser writes of the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland that a village headman had special ritual duties to perform when his village shifted to a new site, and Rattray reports a similar procedure for the southern Ngoni. Wiese mentions an oracular method of [787] selecting a new village site among the Fort Jameson Ngoni, but is silent on whether or not the headman had a special role to play.[illegible] I could gain no information from my own informants about former practices, but nowadays the headman has no specific ritual to perform when a village shifts.

162 There is little evidence about the number of villages in the Ngoni State. There are a few conflicting observations on population and size and number of villages in the Fort Jameson group at the time of the conquest,[illegible] and we have estimates for the population of different groups in recent years, but estimates of the population and number of villages at earlier dates are all highly speculative.

69/ 62/ 604 [606] The term for lieutenant, *nduna*, was used at all levels in the residential system and was applied even to men who had not yet founded their own segments. As already mentioned, a lieutenant was a quasi-related dependant, not a kinsman, of his lord who was selected to be in charge of a section of his lord's dependants and to carry out the instructions of his lord. Some of my informants referred to a ceremony at which a new office of lieutenant was [557] created and a feather placed in the hair of the newly appointed man, but others appeared not to have heard of this custom. The

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[illegible] Barnes, *Marriage*, pp. 15 *f*. For the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, see Read, 'Standards', p. 16.

[illegible] Fraser, *Primitive people*, pp. 107 *f*.; Rattray, *Folk-lore stories*, pp. 96 *ff*., 103 *f*., 196 *ff*.; Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 199. In his 'Expedição', p. 480, Wiese associates this method only with a change of residence by the Paramount Chief.

[illegible] See pp. 103 *f*.

I;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
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lord's dependants placed under a lieutenant's care became more specifically his dependants and eventually he appointed one or more of the men among them to be his own lieutenants. Thus it was possible for Z to be the lieutenant of Y and at the same time for Y to be the lieutenant of X. When Y died, his son became X's lieutenant or, if Y had no son, Z might succeed him as X's lieutenant. 61/ 62/ 62/

A lord with but few dependants sometimes appointed one or more of them as his lieutenants without specifically dividing his dependants among them. Thus, a lieutenant might be appointed without the formation of a segment for him, and only later would he differentiate from the rest of his lord's dependants those for whom he was directly responsible.

The ranking of lieutenants was one of the least stable parts of the residential system. In a village under a lord there were lieutenants in charge of segments forming divisions within the village. As their segments grew in size, the lieutenants broke out of the village to found new satellite villages. A new set of lieutenants was gradually appointed to take their places in charge of the people remaining in the headquarters, and in the course of time the new set also broke away from the headquarters village.[28] Though they had moved out from the village the lieutenants still retained their positions as lieutenants within the primal segment of which it was the headquarters. Thus in a large segment containing many villages there was a long ranked roster of lieutenants, of which only the junior members still lived in the segment headquarters. Further proliferation of lieutenants sometimes took place when an heir succeeded as lord of the segment but did not found a new segment of his own. The new lord appointed his own lieutenants, so that within the same segment, and partly within the same settlement, there were two sets of lieutenants, one senior by time of appointment, the other enjoying the favour of the present head of the segment. When in these circumstances one of the senior set died, his eldest son sometimes had difficulty in asserting his position as lieutenant; and in this way the senior set, or part of it, lost control of the segment to the more recently appointed men.

It was in keeping with the expanding social boundaries of the State, and of the high degree of mobility within it, that there was no formally constituted council. Some contemporary accounts mention a tribal council, but it seems clear that until very recently, when the Administration tried to institute a council with defined membership, there has never been a legislative or executive body 63/ 64/6 [648]

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[28] cf. my 'Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 197f.

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63/ to which some men definitely belonged and others definitely did
64 not. When matters of national importance needed decision, they were discussed at a meeting attended by at least all the lieutenants of the various levies of the Paramount Chief, and all the spokesmen mentioned in accounts of meetings with Europeans during the later period and who can now be identified belong to this category. It seems possible that the heads of other major segments also took part in these discussions, and that other men listened to them even if they did not take part.

643 The role played in tribal affairs by brothers and junior sons of
the Paramount Chief is not clear. The Paramount Chief did not
627 himself actively intervene in many domestic matters until they were
6(?) specifically referred to him by his lieutenants, and it seems possible that within their own segments other members of the royal house behaved in the same manner. At least nowadays some aristocratic headmen, not necessarily members of the royal family, behave in this aloof way. The head of the segment, like the head of the
[622] village, represents its common interest, its unity, and cannot inter-
[624] vene on his own initiative in the affairs of his people. He lies beyond the reach of their quarrels and disputes, and has to be brought into or informed of them in his judicial capacity by his lieutenants. Wiese says that previously members of the royal house were the real governors and judges in their segments, but that by 1891 in three cases out of four effective power had passed to their lieutenants and that they were merely 'show chiefs'.[illegible] This observation appears to confirm the thesis that with increased segmentation effective control passed from the head of the primal segment to the heads of the inferior segments within it, leaving the head of the primal segment as ceremonial head; but we do not know what evidence if any Wiese had about earlier conditions. It seems probable that before Wiese's time, as well as during it, the heads of large segments ruled through, as well as with the approval of, their lieutenants. So strongly does this principle still apply to the office of Paramount Chief that when recently a brawl began at a beer party attended
[579] by the Chief, he at once ran away, lest in the mêlée he might be
forced to take direct action.[illegible]

Thus we see that in the Ngoni residential system, although
62/ segments were enduring social groups and the pattern of relation-
63/ ships once laid down could not be altered in formal terms, yet in fact there was a continual movement in the disposition of political

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[illegible] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 470.

[illegible] Gluckman reports similar conditions among the Lozi, where there is a maxim, 'The chief is not a policeman'. See his 'Lozi of North-Western Rhodesia'.

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power. The history of the State and indeed of each subdivision 2/
within it was encapsulated in the formal relations between royal 63/
headquarters and between segments. Yet the system was always growing and every few years brought a new royal capital, a new chief, new headquarters for the heirs of large segments and new ambitious men as lieutenants. Each generation also brought greater divergence of interest between the constituent parts of each segment and of the State, as we shall discuss later. Before going on to examine the conditions under which the State split we shall turn aside to compare the Ngoni residential system with similar social structures found in some other societies.

4. *Continually segmenting systems*

Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, in their *African Political Systems*, 12/
have provided us with a solid foundation for a typology of political 114
systems in simple societies. It is therefore appropriate to consider what place the Ngoni State has in this typology. The authors distinguish three types of political system in Africa,[28] and we shall attempt to determine to which of these the Ngoni State belongs.

Their first type includes those small societies in which everyone is kin to everyone else, and in which political relations are coterminous with kinship relations. It is clear that Ngoni society was not of this kind.

The other two types are those referred to as primitive states, or Group A, and stateless societies, or Group B. Primitive states are characterised by the presence of organised government, i.e. centralised authority, administrative machinery and judicial institutions, and of cleavages of wealth, privilege and status corresponding to the distribution of power and authority. In stateless societies there is no government, in this sense, and political relations are primarily regulated by a segmentary system of permanent unilateral descent groups.

This classification is sometimes taken to imply that segmentary systems are found only in stateless societies but not in primitive states. This implication does not follow inevitably from the scheme of classification, though it is compatible with it. It is, however, easy to assume that this implication is intended, for the authors frequently use the adjective segmentary to characterise stateless societies in contrast to primitive states. This implication is false, as can be shown by reference to a number of societies, and cannot have been intended by the authors, for elsewhere Fortes has written that 'It

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[28] Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems*, pp. 6*f*.

[illegible] is quite possible for the sub-divisions of a centralised state to have
72] a segmentary social organisation'.[50]

This unfortunate muddle is not helped by the use of the adjective pyramidal to characterise the social organisation of primitive states, for when we need a visual symbol for a segmentary system as found in stateless societies, we use a triangle or pyramid.[51] There is, on reflection, an obvious difference between one office-holder having authority over a number of subordinates and one segment containing lesser segments within itself; but this difference is obscured by the similarities of spatial metaphor.

Under these circumstances, it seems best to eschew the use of pyramidal or segmentary as unqualified descriptions of either group of societies, and to follow the authors' alternative suggestion by speaking of Group A societies as primitive states, and of those in Group B as stateless societies. The presence or absence of a segmentary political system may now be handled as a separate question, providing a classification cutting across the division into states and stateless societies.

642 We have spoken throughout this chapter of Ngoni society as a state, and this usage is in accord with the definition of a state given
[641] here. The Paramount Chief with his lieutenants exercised supreme
[622] authority, there was a highly organised administrative machine, and there was an organised method of settling disputes within the
[554 State. There were only slight variations in wealth except in the control of cattle, but privilege and status were expressed in the
559] residential system and were inseparable from the exercise of power and authority.

[illegible] The presence or absence of a segmentary political system can
63] itself be divided into two questions; was there a segmentary system, and if so, was it the political system? If we have used the term segment correctly, then it is clear that the Ngoni did have a segmentary system, and that political relations within, but not without, the State were largely regulated by it. However, when Fortes and Evans-Pritchard use this word segmentary in their typology they are referring exclusively to lineage segments, or to major groups very similar in form to lineages. A segment of the Ngoni residential system was not quite the same as a segment of a lineage, and we must therefore examine what may usefully be meant by the term segmentary as applied to a social system before we can answer these questions.

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[50] Fortes, *Dynamics*, p. 234.

[51] e.g. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, p. 201, and Fortes, *Dynamics*, p. 34, diagram.

A wide variety of forms of organization can legitimately be spoken of as segmentary, and can be represented visually by pyramids and triangles. We may even speak of our own system of local government as containing segments (rural districts) which are characteristically grouped together to form segments of higher order (counties) and which are divided internally into segments of lower order (parishes). This nesting aspect of segmentation, as we may perhaps call it, by which social groups are arranged in a hierarchy one within another, is of too wide an occurrence to be useful for our purposes. Almost every known political system must be segmentary in this sense. 12/

Nor is it the unilineal character of lineage systems which clearly marks them off from others. Until recently it was the general rule in Europe that a child took the nationality of its father, and we were therefore quite justified in talking of European nations as unilineally recruited groups. Yet we do not usually need a typology which places African lineage systems and European nations in the same category.

What then is the particular characteristic of lineage systems which significantly distinguishes them from the fixed social divisions of many states, and which they share with the Ngoni residential system? The critical characteristic seems to me to be that segmentation goes on continually. Every man (or woman) is the potential founder of a segment, and although a segment once formed tends to persist in time, more and more segments of lower and lower order are all the while being formed within it. We cannot count the number of levels at which the State is subdivided, as we can when there is a fixed hierarchy, for these points of subdivision are continually shifting with the passage of time and with change of context. It is difficult to attach labels to segments of different order or of different span, save in precisely defined situations. The magnitude of this difficulty is apparent from Fortes's elaborate descriptive armamentum, with its morphological minimal, effective minimal, nuclear, inner, medial, and maximal lineages, terms referring to successive stages in the life of a single segment, stages which occur at different times in the histories of different segments. The same difficulty arises in describing Ngoni segments, but it is not so pressing, since there was not the same differentiation of function related to degree of segmentation as is found among the Tallensi. 12/ 63/ [171]

Because of this continuous process of segment formation, the system is governed by the same principles at all levels. A group formed in a specific way at a low level eventually becomes a high-level group, and thus at any one time the constancy of past formation 631

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63/ [12] is reflected in present uniformity of organization.[illegible] Fortes, writing on the concept of a segmentary society, says

> '. . . It means that small units of a particular form are, like cells, associated together into larger units of the same general form, and these again associated into still larger units of analogous or identical form, and so on up to the limits of the system . . . the principles operating on one level presuppose the principles operating on a lower level.'[illegible]

17/ 63/ 12/ Here he is describing the egalitarian, homogeneous, stateless society of Taleland, but his description fits Ngoni society very closely. The one significant difference in this matter between Ngoni and Tale society is that Tale society goes back into the unremembered past whereas Ngoni society was founded at a known and remembered time and place. Hence a certain amount of extemporization was necessary to get the system going, to adapt Ngoni social organization to the peculiarities of Ngoni life, as we have noted in the relationship between the first Paramount Chief and his companions who became regional governors. Apart from this initial piece of social engineering, the system continued to perpetuate itself until checked by quite different external agencies.

In all these societies, the continually segmenting system has or had political functions. We may well ask if there are other societies in which there are continually segmenting systems lacking political functions. Gluckman has listed a large number of societies stated to possess corporate lineages, including some states as defined above. Some of these, for example the Tswana,[illegible] appear to organize their internal political relations not on the basis of these corporate lineages but through some separate administrative apparatus. What then is the social function of the lineage system in these societies, and is it continually segmenting? Evans-Pritchard has suggested that segmentation occurs where groups have political functions.[illegible] Nevertheless, among the Tswana, lineages do segment, even though they have only slight political significance, political action being largely determined by the ward organization.

We shall then take this process of continual formation of segments, which Firth calls the branching or ramifying process,[illegible]

[illegible] Fortes, *Web of kinship*, p. 341, suggests the term 'organic' to describe such a system. This word has so many other meanings that I am reluctant to use it.

[illegible] Fortes, *Dynamics*, p. 232.

[illegible] Gluckman in Mitchell and Barnes, *Lamba village*, p. 4. cf. Schapera, *Tswana law and custom*.

[illegible] Evans-Pritchard, 'Nandi-speaking peoples', pp. 263*f*, and 'Nuer of the Southern Sudan', p. 287.

[illegible] Firth, *Tikopia*, p. 371.

as diagnostic of the presence of the kind of segmentary society in which we are interested. All the societies included by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard in their stateless category, i.e. Logoli, Tallensi and Nuer, have continually segmenting political systems. Of the societies with government, the Zulu were like the Ngoni in being a State and yet having a political system which was continually segmenting. Both of these states were organized by a segmentary system even at the highest level, so that it does not seem necessary to follow Fortes in restricting segmentary systems to only the subdivisions of states. In Shaka's time various changes came about in Zululand, such as the concentration of the army in a central area, which lessened the importance of the segmentary organization. But in the eighteenth century large-scale relations between and within the Ngoni chiefdoms were governed by the agnatic segmentary organization, that is, by the division of the people into clans, sub-clans, and lineages and by the continual transfer of allegiance by lineage segments from one chief to another. Even during the period of the Zulu empire, the continual segmentation of the constituent tribes was important in maintaining the power of the central government over them.[illegible]

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If one of the main characteristics of the well-known African lineage systems, both in stateless societies like the Nuer, Tallensi, Logoli and Gusii, and in primitive states like the Zulu, is their political function, we may well inquire if these systems are not also one type in a more general category of political systems. Although lineage relations are essentially distinct from kinship relations, a lineage system defines political relations in the idiom of kinship. Thus in agnatic systems, the relationship between territorial groups may be expressed in terms of the relationships between founding ancestors who were brothers or fathers and sons. We have seen how among the Ngoni the relationship between captor and captive, between lord and dependant, and hence the relationship between the segments they founded, was expressed in agnatic terms. The relationship between husband and wife, lord and lady, was employed to define the relationship between the political groups they led, and in this respect the Ngoni system may be seen as taking one stage further the process employed in lineage systems, where most relationships of this kind are phrased agnatically. Among the south-eastern Bantu, however, the relationship between lineage segments founded by paternal half-brothers is defined in terms of their mothers' position as co-wives. Among some central African peoples, this process has been carried even further than

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[illegible] Gluckman, 'Modern Zululand', pp. 147-54.

631 171 608 among the Ngoni. Thus the device of perpetual kinship among the Yao, by which the holders of certain chiefly offices stand in relation to one another in a fixed arrangement of kinship positions, of Paramount Chief to son and to sister's son and to brother,[illegible] would seem to be an example of what is essentially the same process as that by which the dominant lineage in one part of Nuerland is conceived of as descended from a brother of the founding ancestor of another dominant lineage. Where a political relationship is expressed in terms of the connexion between husband and wife, rather than between brothers' or sisters' sons, we may find that a woman is used to embody the political relationship, and she then plays what is essentially a political role. The many wives of the [illegible] Ngoni Paramount Chief were clearly used in roles of this kind. Not only were they rapporteurs for the Chief, as Deare points out,[illegible] but they were also living symbols of the political relationship between their segments and the State as a whole. Another central African example of this is the Lele institution of 'wife of the village' by which a village, as a group, may stand as daughter's husband or wife's parent to its chief.[illegible]

Wherever political relationships of this kind are embodied in persons who have private lives of their own, be they queens or sons-in-law of the village, there is bound to be some domestic and inter-personal relationship alongside the corresponding political relationship. But that should not obscure from us the essentially political role played by individuals in these positions. The analogy with the dynastic marriages of Western Europe is clear.

One of the characteristics of lineage systems and of the Ngoni
602 residential system is that the transition from the ties of domesticity
631 and close kinship to purely political relations is a gradual one. The
121 same principles of organization apply at all levels, and it is gradually
with the passage of time and with increasing structural separation
171 and internal segmentation that inter-personal relations are replaced
by those between groups, and actions based on sentiments of love and hate give way to those based ultimately on an appeal to force. Relations between the larger segments of a lineage, although expressed in the idiom of kinship, and although possibly explainable historically in kinship terms, are relations between political units, whereas the relationship between brothers living under the same roof is not governed by political considerations. The critical point at which relationships of increasing scale become dominantly

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[illegible] Mitchell, 'Social organization of the Yao'
[illegible] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April.
[illegible] Tew, 'Polyandry among the Lele'

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political would seem to be, for example, at the medial lineage 602
among the Tallensi, beyond which generation differences are not 631
recognised; and at the village among the Nuer. It seems probable [121]
that in the old Ngoni system the village was also the significant [171]
unit, above which relationships were dominantly political and
below which they were largely dominated by the multiplex sentiments and activities arising out of kinship and domestic association. This is certainly so in modern Ngoniland, although the same principles of organisation no longer apply at all levels.

I have described elsewhere the critical position of the modern
Ngoni headman, linking the political system with the network of 622
ties of kinship and co-residence operative within the village, and 631
similar conditions have been reported elsewhere by Gluckman and Mitchell. Above the village, whether in a state or in a stateless society, relations are in the main between enduring groups and are defined with respect to interests vital to the survival of these groups, even if expressed in the idiom of kinship.[illegible]

Granted the existence of primitive states with continually
segmenting political systems, such as the Zulu and Ngoni, it is then 121
possible to look at from another point of view the various African 171
political systems for which there is adequate information. In 631
terms of political segmentation on a unilineal basis, states like the Ngoni and Zulu are closer in form to the stateless societies of the Nuer, Tallensi, Gusii and Logoli than to the Nupe and Kede states with their administrative systems largely independent of unilineal affiliation. To document this point fully would take us beyond the scope of this book; our purpose here is merely to emphasise the importance in comparative studies of examining political structures from more than one point of view.

When talking of states, we make the convenient distinction between internal and external political relations. No such simple distinction can be made with stateless societies, for in them relations which are external to one segment are internal to the next higher segment, and yet may still legitimately be regarded as political relations. The pre-Shakan chiefdoms of Zululand formed a system similar to the Tallensi maximal lineages, and we may speak there-
fore in that instance of a segmentary system regulating political 631
relations between states. Ngoni external relations were not regulated 174
in this way, for the Ngoni were isolated and unique in a region 648

[illegible] For this section, see Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* and 'Kinship among the Nuer'; Fortes, *Web of kinship*; Wagner, *Bantu of North Kavirondo*; Mayer, *Lineage principle in Gusii society*; Gluckman, 'Analysis of a social situation' and 'Kingdom of the Zulu'; Gluckman, *et al.*, 'Village headman'.

63 64 174 where other states, if states they were, organised themselves on quite different lines. Ngoni external political relations were restricted to acts of war. They harried their neighbours but did not bring them into enduring political relationship. When fission occurred, when the Ngoni State split into two, then indeed the fighting that took place was war between segments, and for a while an inter-segment relationship which had been internal became external and was mediated through force. Relations of this kind did not persist, for independent Ngoni groups soon diverged from each other, seeking weaker enemies.

5. *Lineage systems compared*

128 Our argument in the preceding section was directed to showing that the old Ngoni society was a state in which internal political relations were largely determined by a continually segmenting residential system. We compared it with other societies in which lineage systems provided the basis for political relations. We now have to ask how did this residential system differ from these similar systems; was it a kind of lineage system?

63 61 [121] Gluckman has set out nine criteria by which a lineage system may be distinguished and which we may apply to the residential system.[illegible] In the first place we must expand the meaning of the word descent before we can call an Ngoni segment a unilineal descent group. However it seems justifiable to regard the process by which [127] [59] an Ngoni captive sundered the ties linking him to his natal community and was then incorporated in a new one as a kind of social death and re-birth.[illegible] We may then speak of a captive being socially descended from his lord. More familiarly, we must use descent to include social descent from a man when biological descent is from his kinsman acting as pro-husband for him after his death, and from a woman when biological descent is from her linked junior co-wife. With these extensions of meaning, we may regard the residential system as composed of unilineal descent groups.

Lineage segments, particularly small ones, are usually exogamous, whereas no Ngoni segment was automatically an exogamous unit. True agnatic kin could not marry one another, but the quasi-agnatic relationship between a lord and his dependants was not a bar, and a man and woman with the same captor were free to marry each other, even though they both called their lord *father*.

[illegible] Gluckman, in Mitchell and Barnes, *Lamba village*, pp. 4-5.

[illegible] cf. Warner's description of the passing of light-skinned Negroes in the United States into the White caste as 'social death'.

The genealogies which related members of one segment to those of 611
another were made up not only of links from father to son but also
from lord to dependant, and were expressed in terms of the names 613
of segments rather than the names of the people who headed them.
A man related himself to the Paramount Chief not by his own
genealogy but by the pedigree of the segment to which he belonged.[illegible]
Although the number of links in such a pedigree may have been
half a dozen or more, it did not cover more than two or three
generations, whereas in most lineage systems remembered genealogies cover many more generations. The present kinship nomen- 601
clature, which mainly employs words of Nsenga origin, does not
group relatives on a lineage, or segmental, basis but by generation. 171
Presumably the system of nomenclature in use during the early 174
stages of the Ngoni migration was similar to the present Zulu
system in which lineage categories are used slightly. Tribes like
the Shona and Cewa, from whom many captives were taken,
employ systems of nomenclature with great lineage emphasis, but
this emphasis is patrilineal among the former and matrilineal
among the latter. The difficulty of combining patrilineal and
matrilineal categories may have prompted the emergence of a
generation system of nomenclature.[illegible]

Another point of difference between the Ngoni and many 171
people with lineage systems is that, other than possibly the rites 769
associated with choosing a new village site, there seem to have been
no ritual observances or ancestor cult which would have differen- 776
tiated one segment from another and united the various segments
of lower order within a higher one. The only ancestors to whom
supplication was made were those of the Paramount Chief. They
were believed to be concerned with the well-being of the whole
nation, and when sacrifices were made to them, the officiants were
not their agnatic descendants but the Paramount Chief's lieutenants.
We may, however, regard the byre in the headquarters village as a [778]
ceremonial, rather than a ritual, centre for a large segment.

In these four respects the Ngoni residential system differed 611
from most lineage systems. On the other hand, in respect of other 631
criteria it was like them. A segment recognized its identity and 591
unity in contrast to other groups; rights and obligations of segment 613
membership were distinguished from those of kinship; segments 621
endured in time beyond the death of their founding members;

[illegible] cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 466.

[illegible] cf. Barnes, 'Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 221-5; Gluckman, 'Kinship and marriage', pp. 170-1; Holleman, *Hera kinship*, pp. 1-18; Pretorius, 'Terms of relationship', pp. 44-8.

611 segments nested in the same way as lineage segments; and a seg-
613 ment could be referred to by the name of its original head. A
591 residential segment was not associated with a particular locality in
621 quite the same way as lineage segments often are among settled
631 peoples, for even the State itself was not tied to any particular place. Within the area occupied by the State at any one time, the villages belonging to one major segment seem to have intermingled with those of another, for there were not any temporary boundaries defining major segment areas, even for those led by regional governors. But smaller segments, occupying single villages or less, may be said to have been associated with a particular locality at any one time.

Our concept of a lineage system would then require con-
121 siderable stretching to include the Ngoni residential system. It
171 seems preferable to employ the wide term 'continually segmenting
611 systems' when speaking of this general class of system, and to
distinguish within this category a number of different varieties.
621 Lineage systems belong to one variety, the Ngoni residential
631 system to another. These two varieties do not exhaust the category. The Nyakyusa system of continually bifurcating states appears to belong to a third variety, and there may be more.

There are other criteria which have been used to distinguish different varieties of lineage system, and which we may apply summarily to the Ngoni residential system. Despite the great importance of women in the system, it was clearly a patrilineal and not a matrilineal system. It was a graded system with a single head to each segment, like the Zulu and unlike the egalitarian Nuer. The system had a single apex, one highest segment embracing the whole society, like the Gusii and unlike the multi-capped society of the Tallensi. As a corollary of this it had sharp boundaries and did not form part of a chain of interlinked societies. There was little economic differentiation save in the control of cattle and there
[183] was, on the surface, complete cultural homogeneity imposed by the State.

The characteristic formation of rump segments is lacking in
[171] many lineage systems, but is found among the Zulu and in the
611 Swazi lineage,[41] and perhaps more widely, although in both these
621 societies the process does not seem to have been as greatly developed
631 as among the Ngoni. Among the Zulu and Swazi it led to a series of homesteads or villages corresponding to successive holders of the office of lineage head or king. Among the Ngoni not only was each

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[41] cf. Holleman, 'Twee-eenheidsbeginsel van die Zulu' and 'Zulu *isigodi*'; Bryant, *Dictionary*, pp. 729*f*, s.v. *isizinda*; and Kuper, *African Aristocracy*, pp. 40*f*.

successive head of a major segment memorialized in this way, but 611 621
the major divisions of his polygynous household as well. 631

6. *Splitting the State*

When splits occurred in the State, the cleavages were along 631 segmentary, and not age-set, lines. 668 The headquarters of the highest segment was differentiated from the major subdivisions within that 178 segment, and the various divergent groups can be identified by the different segments which they represented. Once fission had taken place, a realignment of segments was sometimes necessary. When after the death of Zwangendaba his great wife's segment was split, in each divergent group the man who was nearest in the line of [622] succession to head of her segment claimed to be the rightful heir, and on the strength of that claim assumed leadership of the group.

Fission in the State was the end result of segmentation within it. Here we are using these two terms for two different processes. By segmentation we mean the process by which any social group becomes subdivided internally while retaining its own unity and [121] cohesion. By fission we mean the process by which a social group divides into two or more distinct groups, so that the original group disappears as a social entity.[42] Fission in the Ngoni State occurred without affecting the arrangement of segments within each group, but did disrupt the highest segment of all, within which the divergent groups had hitherto been contained. Segmentation was a process of growth taking place at all levels but particularly at the bottom of the hierarchy of political groups, while fission was a process occurring only at the highest level. The process of segmentation in one generation could not alter the formal arrangement of higher segments determined in the previous generation, even though with each generation there was in fact an effective shift in the distribution of political power accompanied by spatial differentiation. The process of fission did not bring into being any new segments, but merely dissolved the highest segment of all as a cohering political unit. The two processes were thus formally and in reality quite distinct, even though it is clear that they were not independent of one another. Increasing divergence of interest found expression at first in the creation of separate segments and ultimately in the formation of separate states.

The processes of segmentation and of spatial differentiation [669] within the State were in general peaceful. Fission was a hazardous

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[42] This use of terms differs from that of Fortes. He uses 'segmentation' to refer to a *state* of internal subdivision within a group, and 'fission' to refer to the *process* of internal subdivision. cf. Fortes, *Web of kinship*, *passim*. I am indebted to Mrs. U. P. Mayer for this observation.

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procedure. Segment 2 broke away from segment 3 and later rejoined it peaceably, but other instances of fission were accompanied by fighting. The leader of each divergent group rallied his warriors, the one to protect his flight, the other to pursue and annihilate the departing traitors. If the flight was successful, the leader of the new State assumed the salutations and marks of rank [643] of a Paramount Chief and held his own first fruits ceremony. The [786] internal organization of his State and of the one he had left continued on the same lines as before. This seems to have been the sequence of events when Zulu Gama, Ciwele Ndhlovu, and segment 7 each broke away from the main body. When the residue of segment 1 broke away from segment 4, the dissident group destroyed the crops of those who remained, but Chibambo does not mention fighting on that occasion.[43] There are two possible instances of a divergent group going away to join some other state. Segment 7 was associated for a while with Mirambo and his Ruga-ruga, and Zulu Gama joined forces in Tanganyika with the Maseko Ngoni, now in southern Nyasaland.[44] But neither of these alliances lasted long. As we would expect there is less evidence for the unsuccessful attempts at fission which it seems reasonable to assume must have taken place. I did, however, collect one clear account of a regional governor who was thought by Zwangendaba to be lagging behind on the migration with the intention of deserting with his segment. Zwangendaba sent an army against the regional [669] governor, who was killed. His segment, under the charge of his son, was forced to live in the village of a lieutenant of Zwangendaba's father. It is said that Zwangendaba continued to punish the would-be rebels by drafting members of the segment to other parts of the residential system from time to time.

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[643]
Thus in one sense the State was held together by armed force. Certainly there were mystical values associated with the chieftainship. It is now difficult to gain much precise information on this topic but it is apparent from present-day practice and from comparative evidence that the chiefly office was hedged about with mystical sanctions and that the chief was no mere secular ruler. Yet it is also clear that these values were associated with the office of chieftainship rather than with the particular occupant of the office, and that they were linked to successful military achievement. We might also suggest that because so many men became Ngoni only after they had grown up in quite different cultures, mystical

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[43] Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 34.

[44] Stanley, *Livingstone*, p. 289, and *Dark Continent*, I, p. 499; Hatchell, 'Angoni', *passim*.

sanctions were less effective than they are in more homogeneous 619
societies; but this can hardly be proved. The fact remains that 642
some segments did break off, that the State attempted to annihilate [669]
them, and that sometimes they were successful, probably sometimes
not. The transition was sharp between the condition in which a
segment was an integral loyal part of the State and that in which it
was itself a new State. Spatially a State was surrounded by a [631]
no-man's-land. Everything inside the uninhabited ring of country
was in the State, everything outside it was not. Within the State [648]
there was no feuding such as sometimes characterizes societies
whose political boundaries are not uniquely defined. In Ngoni
society, murder was punished by the State, and the cattle paid by [682]
the murderer's kin were handed over to the Paramount Chief, not
to the kin of the murdered man. The Paramount Chief, it is true,
usually handed on the cattle to them, but the method of settlement
is indicative of the power of the State. There was only one national [796]
first fruits ceremony, accompanied by summary penalties of death
for those whose actions threatened its mystical effectiveness, as for [687]
example by singing the ceremonial songs at the wrong time.
Furthermore, there was a single age-set system, in which the [561]
members of each set were drawn from all segments, and because of
the activities of the sets, the segments united in aggression against
the external world.

When a split threatened, the issue was decided by force of [669]
arms. Yet in a quite significant sense the cohesion of the State
was not based on force at all. The Paramount Chief had no monopoly
of force, for as we have seen there were representatives of [631]
every major segment in each age-set, and any lord who could
claim the loyal support of his segment had at his disposal a fighting
force as efficient as that of anyone else. Within the army there was [701]
little or no technical, as distinct from tactical, specialization and
the Paramount Chief had no bodyguard or other specially recruited
force on which he could rely. The Ngoni were contemptuous of [411]
guns, for the Tower muskets used by the Arabs and others could
not penetrate their shields at normal firing range, and such guns
as the Ngoni possessed were used only for making a noise.[44] There
was no strong central power posed against the provincial lords, as 619
in some societies. The strength of any segment was measured by its 631
internal cohesion, its size and fighting ability, as matched against
the cohesion, size and ability of the forces that could be marshalled
against it. While he was loyal, expansion in a man's segment

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[44] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 477, and 'Geschichte', p. 196; Read, 'Tradition', p. 461, f.n1; Young, *History*, p. 125.

619 brought more support for his lord; but as the segment expanded
631 his chances of setting himself up as a chief increased and his loyalty
became less certain. Thus the appeal to armed force came only as
one phase in a general struggle for power carried on simultaneously
at many different levels and by a variety of methods. The
conflicting ambitions of each lord, each a potential rival of the State,
[669] combined to maintain the State and to reduce the likelihood of
successful fission.

The conflict between identification with one's lord and
692 differentiation from him, between what Fortes has called the
643 centripetal and centrifugal forces in a segmentary society, is brought
681 out clearly in the enforcement of the death penalty. Wiese implies
631 that only the Paramount Chief had the legal power to sentence
adulterers to death and that this offence was the ground for the
[684] majority of death sentences.[44] However, my own informants stated
that senior lieutenants did sometimes sentence people to death without referring the matter to the Paramount Chief. The Chief would later come to hear of an incident of this kind and would then either praise the lieutenant for acting in the interests of the Chief and for ruling his people well, or else abuse him for usurping the powers of the Chief and warn him to be more careful in future. A successful lieutenant might establish his own major segment and eventually his own State; but if he moved in this direction
[687] prematurely he was likely to be killed for treason. This same inherent
conflict exists to-day, albeit with different groupings and different
sanctions.

7. *Stability*

611 The most striking differences between the residential system
and most lineage systems were the high rate of segmentation, and
619 the flexibility of the system. Segmentation in a lineage system
178 depends basically on the unalterable processes of human
reproduction and maturation. Until a man's children become adults
his agnatic segment cannot split. The Ngoni, by recruiting many
[161] of their members when they were already grown up, were able to
increase their population at a prodigious rate and with it the degree
[597] of segmentation of the State. As the Ngoni army increased in size,
so it became easier for them to capture more people, so that what we may describe as an inflationary spiral in population was set up. The Ngoni State was like a snowball which grows larger and larger as it is pushed from place to place, but still remains uniform throughout. At last it becomes unwieldly and must be broken

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[44] Wiese, 'Expedição', pp. 471-2, and 'Geschichte', pp. 189-90.

before it can be moved further. The same accumulation of snow 178
then begins again with each fragment. 611

We can readily see that this system was one of great flexibility. 619
The rules of the system were fairly definite, and the principles of
agnatic descent and primogeniture were never violated. Yet it was
a system very susceptible to manipulation, and one appropriate
to a society with a rapidly expanding population recruited mainly
by capture. The relationships between a man and his wives, his
sons, and his other dependants provided the basis for differentiation [595]
within his segment, but they did not determine in advance
which wife should be made leader of a bevy, which bevy should get
most dependants, which of his younger sons he should favour,
which dependants he would appoint as lieutenants.

Without a continual inflow of captives this wide pattern of
segmentation might not have produced anything more than a [727]
lineage system on the same lines as the Zulu and Swazi. The
captives were the bulk which swelled the segments, which benefited [597]
one segment at the expense of another. This system provided
quasi-agnatic affiliation to people whose actual parentage was
unknown or irrelevant. Because of this source of supply, much
greater segmentation was achieved in each generation than was
possible in an orthodox lineage system. The whole system lasted
only seventy-seven years for the Fort Jameson group, corresponding
roughly to three generations, yet almost the whole population of
the Ngoni groups stemming from Zwangendaba, numbering perhaps [173]
half a million people, could at the end of that time trace quasi-agnatic
ascent back to him or his forebears.

Membership of age-sets gave rise to one set of bonds which [561]
cut across the lines of segmentary division; those bonds created by
marriage gave rise to another. A man in one segment was linked 611
by ties of affinity to men in several others, and because of these ties 571
interacted with them on formal and informal occasions, exchanged 582
cattle with them, and had a joint interest with them in their
common descendants. Though segments were not exogamous, a
wife from a structurally distant segment had in general a higher
status and was more likely to be selected as leader of a bevy than [554]
was one from the same minor segment as her husband. Within a
segment a son of the lord might marry the daughter of a lieutenant,
and lieutenants sometimes married daughters of their lord, thus
blending the bonds of affinity with those of quasi-agnation. As the
heads of segments, married women played a more important role [562]
than we usually associate with them in strongly patrilineal societies. 611
The lady of a segment retained her connexion with the segments 602

611 to which she had belonged before her marriage, and in particular
602 sent some of her children to her parents to be cared for until
[855] adolescence. In this way a web of affinal ties was built up, cutting
across both the residential and age-set systems and acting against
the fissile tendencies in the former.[47]

The ties that bound a man to his age-mates and to his
561 matrilateral kin cut across those linking him to his lord and to his
602 dependants. Nevertheless, it seems probable that even without this
arrangement of cross-cutting ties, the segmentary system itself was
not easily fissile. The State as a whole was primarily held together
64 by its enemies, the external enemies who made it unsafe for small
182 bodies of Ngoni to venture across the no-man's-land on their own,
and the internal rivals who competed for the Paramount Chief's
favour and who bided their time until they could lead off their
major segments as independent states. The flexibility of the
system allowed men to achieve power within it, and provided a way
of balancing the interests of different groups, as well as making
possible the few instances of fission that did occur. The Paramount
643 Chief was powerful, not only because of his mystical attributes and
of the military successes of his people, but because he was the
government. Through him the common interests of the tribe as a
whole were expressed in an organized manner as against the
interests of minority groups. Despite its segmentary form, Ngoni
society was a State.

In later years two changes took place which increased the
177 stability of the State, at least from a short-term point of view. In
the first place, the external environment altered due to the penetration
into the central African hinterland by Arabs, Portuguese
and British. With this topic we shall deal in Chapter III. The
178 second change, which seems to have taken place among the Ngoni
631 of northern Nyasaland, was in the internal organization of the
State. In that particular group, neighbouring tribes were brought
[636] under subjection as political groups, not as individuals, and the
conquered peoples were either allowed to retain their own chiefs
as subordinate rulers or else were attached in large batches to
various important headquarters. A distinction emerged between
the aristocracy and the conquered peoples, and the army was no
[563] longer simply the aggregation of age-sets but included quasi-
[701] professionals supplied by a near-by unconquered Cewa chief
Mwase Kasungu, who were armed with guns. Similar changes
may well have taken place among the Ngoni groups in Tanganyika,
who were more closely involved with the slave trade to the coast

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[47] See the discussion of affinal linking in my *Marriage*, pp. 10-11.

than were the groups further inland. However, the evidence 631 suggests that no great changes of this kind took place among the 178 Fort Jameson group under Mpezeni, and it is therefore with changes in the external environment of the State that we shall be chiefly concerned.

In this early period, between 1821 and about 1885, there was 178 for most of the time a situation in which the forces attaching people to the State were stronger than those tending to split it. The age- 64 set system, the web of affinal ties, the attachment of segment members to their lord, the reliance of a lord on the support of his dependants, and the external opposition of all non-Ngoni, these all held the State together. Shifts in the balance of power could be made without disrupting the State because the State was continually expanding, and expansion gave it flexibility. The weakest links in the State were at the top, and it was these that were most strained as the State grew in numbers and in degree of segmentation. Under critical conditions, as on the death of the Paramount Chief or when the need for food necessitated a move from one tribal site to another, these were the links that gave way and fresh independent States were formed. Fission in the State led to consolidation of ties in each divergent group, but the same processes leading to further fission began again at once.

During the period of migration the Ngoni flourished. They 167 were successful brigands on the march. Yet they were brigands 721 in a poor land, and despite their military successes their economy 648 remained one of subsistence cultivation, even though others did some of the cultivation for them. They were well organized for war and their enemies were not, but both they and their enemies were poor people relying on shifting cultivation with a poor technology and with access to only moderately valuable natural resources. The hinterland of Africa provided the Ngoni with an area within which they could operate successfully, but this area was bounded by the lands of wealthier and mightier peoples. Towards the end of the century the boundaries of the area began to contract. The Ngoni found themselves in conflict not with subsistence cultivators using hoes and spears, but with peoples using writing and guns and possessing apparently limitless resources of cloth, beads and gunpowder. We now have to turn to the story of the Ngoni struggle with these Arab and European invaders.

Chapter Three

DEFEAT

1. Structural change 2. Portugal or Britain 3. Concession hunters 4. European consolidation 5. Friction 6. Fighting 7. Cattle 8. The end of a system

1. *Structural change*

178 619 64 THE STRUGGLES of the Ngoni during the middle of the nineteenth century were with groups of roughly the same character as themselves. The processes at work in the Ngoni social system were in the main repetitive. The State grew in size, split, and grew again, but it was still largely the same kind of State as before. Even though there were important differences between the Ngoni and their opponents, particularly after 1835, those whom they encountered were sufficiently like themselves to be absorbed into the system without difficulty. In the nomenclature of Radcliffe-Brown and the Wilsons, there was social circulation in the Ngoni State but little change in its structural form.[1] For this reason we have been concerned in our analysis so far with but few of the historical details of that period, and have dealt with history only in an abstract and generalized form. Many of the inconsistencies [114] between various versions of the tribal legend have not been significant. For example, Chief Ciwele Ndhlovu of Dowa broke off from the main body of Ngoni, according to some writers before, and according to others after, the split between Mpezeni and Mwambera.[2] It does not matter for our particular purpose which of these versions is correct, for we are here concerned only to establish that from time to time senior lieutenants did split off with their segments to form independent chiefdoms. This process, of which Ciwele's secession is an example, was essentially the same before and after the Mpezeni-Mwambera split.

648 178 121 After 1880 Ngoni history entered a new phase, and social processes began to operate which were not repetitive. Changes began to occur in the form of the Ngoni social field, for instead of interacting with groups similar to themselves, the Ngoni became involved in a much wider network of social relations. This change

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[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 'On social structure', p. 4; Wilson, *Social change*, p. 58.

[2] cf. Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 32-3; Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 18; Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 186.

of scale,[8] as we may call it, was accompanied by major changes not 648
only in the positions occupied by individuals in Ngoni society but 178
also in the form of Ngoni society itself. We have to analyse at this 121
stage a non-repetitive process, by which the autonomous Ngoni state, organized by a segmentary residential system and an age-set system, was changed into a dependent unit in a system of Native Authorities forming part of a world-wide colonial empire. For this reason the details of the process are worth noting, for in Ngoni history they are unique and largely determine the form of modern Ngoni society. Having established this significant sequence of events, we are then in a position to look at the same set of facts in a wider context. For what is unique and non-repetitive for the Ngoni may be repetitive in a wider context. The Ngoni are only one tribe among a myriad of tribes, and what happened to them has also happened to many others. Similar sequences of events, each unique for the particular tribe concerned, have occurred throughout the world at various periods of time whenever small autonomous systems have been absorbed into large and more highly resourceful ones. We can therefore look at Ngoni history from 1880 onwards as either unique, from the point of view of the Ngoni, or as typical, or at least probably typical, of a repetitive process which has often occurred in the development of any empire.

Conveniently, at least some of the facts can be ascertained 121
with reasonable certainty. We are no longer dependent only on 128
oral tradition, but can refer to contemporary documents. These
reflect in the main only the European side of Black-White relations, [175]
but even so their testimony is enlightening. I have therefore set out in full the history, mainly of external relations, of the Fort Jameson Ngoni from 1886 down to 1900 both with the intention of throwing light on how the transition was made from pre-conquest to modern society in this particular tribal instance, and also as an example of what seems probably an oft-repeated process in the history of any empire. A discussion of how typical the Ngoni experience is would take us beyond the bounds of this book. We should, however, bear in mind that the newer comparative method, as developed by Radcliffe-Brown and his followers, is as applicable to mammoth social forms, such as empires, as to small ones such as hordes, provided only that the right kind of data are available.

Our detailed documentation should extend down to modern times, but after 1900 there was a change in the kind of events that were documented, related as we shall see to a change in social relations, and we have to proceed somewhat differently.

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[8] For the concept of scale, see Wilson, *Social change*, pp. 25*ff*.

2. *Portugal or Britain*

175 Several European powers were interested in the country into which the Ngoni moved in the 1870s. France and Germany both had a general interest in central Africa, and although their areas of greatest activity were elsewhere, they did not leave the country round Mpezeni entirely alone. The French explorer Giraud travelled through what is now the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia and down the Shire Valley in 1883-5, and his compatriot Foà was in the region between Mpezeni and the Zambezi at various times between 1891 and 1897. The White Fathers, a Catholic order at that time recruited largely in France, began work in Bemba country to the north of Mpezeni, and on the Zambezi to the south, during the 1890s. In 1892 Major von Wissmann travelled up the Shire Valley on his way to consolidate the German interest in south-western Tanganyika.

The fate of the plateau bounded by the Luangwa, Zambezi and Shire valleys, with its healthy climate, good pastures, and alleged deposits of gold was, however, the particular concern not of France or Germany, but of Portugal and Britain. The Portuguese settlements on the east coast of Africa guarding the long route to India had been founded in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese soon discovered, or were shown by the Arabs who had been there before them, the Missale gold-mines some forty miles south of present-day Ngoniland. These mines could not compare with the richer treasures discovered south of the Zambezi but they were worth exploiting and there was always the prospect of further discoveries in the vicinity. However in the middle of the eighteenth century the Jesuits, who had been the most penetrating of the Portuguese explorers, were expelled from all Portuguese possessions, and interest in the region lapsed. At the end of the century the quest began for a route to link the Portuguese settlements on the east and west coasts. Pereira and Lacerda passed through Missale in 1796 and 1798 on their visits to the Lunda chief Kazembe and similar routes were followed by Baptista and Jose in 1811, by Monteiro and Gamitto in 1831 and by Silva Porto in 1854. These [439] travellers were interested mainly in ivory and minerals and in securing unmolested passage for their caravans from coast to coast. Although the Portuguese were anxious to keep Britain out of central Africa, the only attempt they made to colonize this portion of the interior was at a short-lived military post, north of Mpezeni's future country in the Luangwa Valley, occupied from 1827 to 1829 and then abandoned.[4]

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[4] Poole, 'Portuguese settlement', p. 164. See Map B.

[Text continues on page 68]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

MAP B. MPEZENI'S NGONILAND AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY 1890

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103
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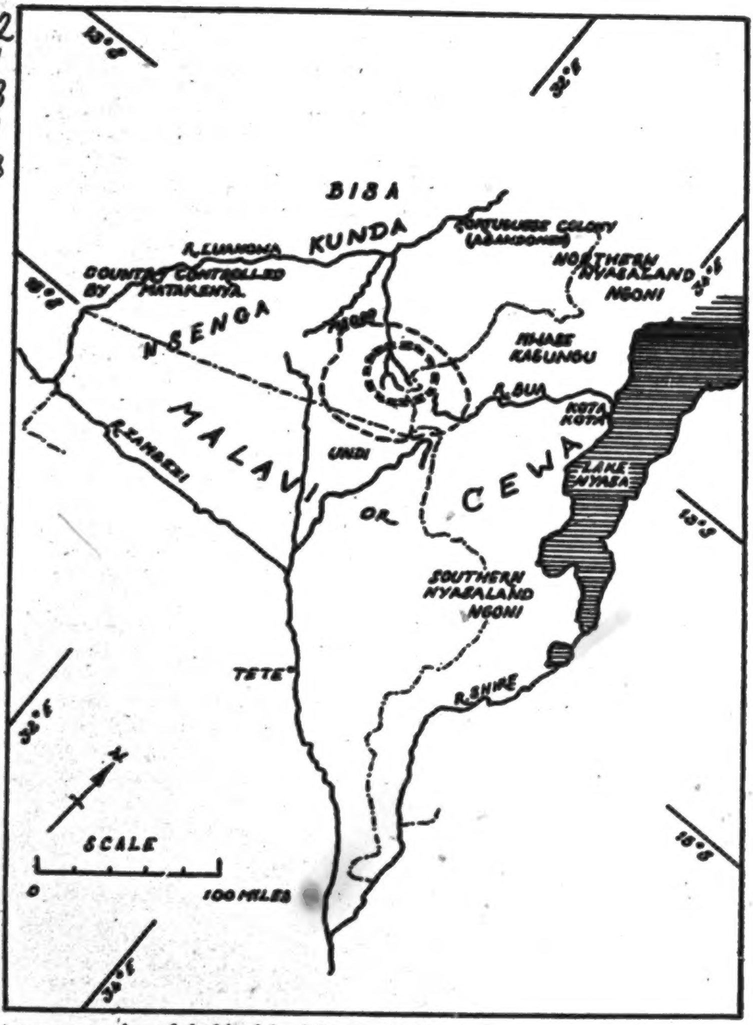
BISA
KUNDA
R. LUANGWA
PORTUGUESE COLONY (ABANDONED)
COUNTRY CONTROLLED BY MATAKENYA
NSENGA
NORTHERN NYASALAND NGONI
MWASE KASUNGU
R. BUA
KOTA KOTA
MALAVI OR CEWA
UNDI
LAKE NYASA
R. ZAMBEZI
SOUTHERN NYASALAND NGONI
TETE
R. SHIRE
13°S
15°S
N
SCALE
0
100 MILES

▬ ▬ ▬ Area inhabited by Mpezeni's Ngoni.
– – – Boundary of no-man's-land surrounding inhabited area.
–·–·– Modern political boundaries (1950).

[p. 67]

Livingstone was the first Briton to reach this area. In 1866 he 175 passed through what was to become Mpezeni's country,[5] and in his journals he makes frequent references to Ngoni raids. Unfortunately his carriers would not take him to Ngoni villages and all he saw of Ngoni activity were burnt-out huts and dead bodies killed in battle. The accounts of his journeys stimulated British interest in the region round Lake Nyasa, a centre for the slave trade, and led to the arrival there of missionaries and settlers. In 1874 the [797] Livingstonia Mission was founded and in 1883 a British consul was first appointed to the Shire Highlands.[6]

Mpezeni's country lay some distance from the main centres of British and Portuguese activity, but was not without importance. Apart from Missale, it was thought that there were other gold deposits to be found in the area. In contrast with their harried neighbours, [132] the prosperous Ngoni with their herds of cattle attracted travellers while the pleasant climate of the plateau, compared with the hot valleys of Luangwa, Zambezi, and Nyasa, made it suitable for European colonization. Yet the Ngoni army was formidable, and had to be neutralized in some way if other settlements were to be safe. Mpezeni's country flanked several trade routes of importance from the Zambezi and Lake Nyasa inland to the sources of slaves [439] and ivory. For these various reasons Mpezeni's country attracted 175 the attention of traders and governments, those interested in benefiting by the slave trade as well as those seeking to end it. In 648 addition towards the end of the century when it became clear that Africa was to be completely divided between the Powers, any territory, however inhospitable, that had not already been claimed attracted the attention of treaty-making explorers.

The first move towards incorporating the Fort Jameson Ngoni in a colonial empire was made by the Portuguese who had been stimulated by the increasing British interest in Nyasaland. In November 1888 the Governor-General of Moçambique instructed Wiese, a German[7] trader who had already made contact with Mpezeni, to lead an expedition to him. According to Johnston, Wiese and an associate were offered £2,000 to secure Mpezeni's submission to Portugal.[8] Wiese was well received and distributed flags to Mpezeni and his sons. The Portuguese regarded the

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[5] *Last Journals*, i, p. 150.

[6] Johnston, *British Central Africa*, pp. 55-69.

[7] In *A & P*, 1890-1, lvii, p. 683, the Portuguese Foreign Minister describes Wiese as a Dutchman. This appears to be incorrect in the light of Wiese's contacts with the German Legation in Lisbon.

[8] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 235; **49**, p. 15. (To save space, all public records will be identified by a serial number printed bold face, taken from the first column of the Bibliography, List C.)

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acceptance of these flags as acts of submission, a view echoed by the French explorer Foà. The British view, based on the observations of Sharpe and the statements of Ngoni envoys to Johnston in January 1890, was that no treaty was signed.[9] The official Portuguese report of the expedition records among other things that Mpezeni had been friendly to the Portuguese, that he accepted their flags, and said that their friends and enemies were also his, that he promised not to raid in their territory, and that he refused to see a British traveller [Sharpe] because he had not been recommended by the Portuguese. There is no specific mention of any agreement by which Mpezeni accepted Portuguese protection.[10] Whatever construction was put on these events by Europeans, either Portuguese or British, it seems unlikely that Mpezeni can have felt himself bound by his acceptance of a flag. Wiese evidently thought it necessary to point out to him that the flag was not to be used as an article of clothing.[11] Sharpe suggests that Wiese tried to make a treaty with the Cewa chief Mkanda, who had been driven out by the Ngoni; Wiese then intended to declare Mkanda the rightful owner of Mpezeni's country.[12]

The British Government had been reluctant to extend its commitments in the Lake Nyasa region beyond the appointment of a consul. During 1888-9, however, there was fighting at the north end of Lake Nyasa between Arabs and the African Lakes Company in which Lugard was involved. Rhodes's attention was attracted to the area and he offered Lugard a large subsidy to develop it.[13] This proof of Rhodes's interest emboldened the Foreign Office, and on 28 July 1889 Johnston arrived at the mouth of the Zambezi as the representative of the Foreign Office and of Rhodes and with the task of consolidating the British position in central Africa.

Johnston began at once to make treaties with as many chiefs as possible, spurred on by the activities of Pinto, a Portuguese engaged on a similar task. In August he sent Sharpe on a journey westward from the Shire Valley on which he made treaties with some of the chiefs lying south of Mpezeni and north of the Zambezi.[14] Sharpe returned to the Shire and was sent off again, this time to Mpezeni himself. He did not manage to see him. According to the Portu-

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[9] *A & P*, 1890-1, lvii, p. 683; Foà, *Lac Nyassa*, pp. 298*f*; 16, fo. 146; 12, fo. 275; 49; 158.
[10] *Boletim Official de Moçambique*, No. 21 (24 May 1890), pp. 238-40.
[11] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 488.
[12] 12, fo. 289, 311.
[13] Lugard, *East African Empire*, i, pp. 157-9, 202-7.
[14] 6, fo. 256; Sharpe, 'Journey between the Shire and Loangwa', pp. 150-7.

175 648 guese, Mpezeni refused to see Sharpe, while according to Johnston Sharpe had used up his stock of presents before reaching Mpezeni and hence did not attempt to negotiate with him. Sharpe found Wiese at Mpezeni's with a Portuguese officer and on 11 December 1889 witnessed the formal presentation of a Portuguese flag to one of Nsingu's lieutenants, though, 'for reasons of correctness', he was not asked to sign the document officially recording the incident.[15]

Although Wiese was leading the Portuguese party, he spoke bitterly to Sharpe of the way in which the Portuguese had treated him and indicated to him and in a letter to Johnston that he might consider working in the British interest. Johnston replied in January 1890 with a letter of 'a non-compromising but vaguely reassuring character'.[16]

In March 1890 Sharpe began another journey to Mpezeni, this time with instructions from Johnston to make a treaty with Mpezeni and to 'buy' Wiese with an offer of up to £1,000 a year for three years. He arrived at Mpezeni's village on 24 March, only to find that Wiese had left for Tete over a month earlier, leaving behind him the Portuguese officer. Mpezeni kept Sharpe waiting for an interview until 4 April, and although friendly he refused to discuss a treaty or accept a British flag. Sharpe left a letter for Wiese, offering him £300 a year for his services, and departed for the Luangwa Valley. After an unprofitable trip he returned to Mpezeni's on 21 May, to find Wiese and the Portuguese officer on the point of leaving for a trading-trip to Kasungu. Wiese rejected Sharpe's offer of £300 a year and Sharpe was forced to return to Nyasa with both the principal aims of his expedition unaccomplished. He had, however, made a few treaties with non-Ngoni chiefs.[17] Thomson, another explorer who, like Sharpe, was employed by Rhodes's British South Africa Company, arrived in Ngoni country in December 1890 after a successful trip to the Lala. Thomson was greeted with hostility, sheltered with Wiese, and fled during the night.[18]

175 439 648 Johnston played a dual role in Nyasaland, for besides representing the British Foreign Office he was also responsible for the interests of Rhodes and the British South Africa Company, from

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[15] 15, fo. 26-7; 16, fo. 144; *Boletim Official de Moçambique*, 21 (24 May 1890), p. 239.

[16] Wiese may have offered his services to Johnston before Sharpe arrived at Mpezeni's. cf. 49; 158, p. 62; 16, fo. 145-6.

[17] 9, fo. 30; 16, fo. 146; 22, fo. 274-95; Sharpe, 'Journey from Lake Nyassa', pp. 745, 749; Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 89; Wiese, 'Expedição', xi, pp. 412-31, 464-80.

[18] Thomson, 'Lake Bangweolo', p. 114; Wiese, 'Expedição', xi, p. 588.

whom he received a subsidy. When that company was granted its 175
first charter on 29 October 1889, its sphere of operations was 439
restricted to south of the Zambezi. When Johnston began work 648
north of the river the future division of responsibility between the Foreign Office and the B.S.A. Company was uncertain. On 21 September 1889 Buchanan, on Johnston's instructions, proclaimed a British Protectorate over the region round the Shire Highlands, and on 14 May 1891 this was superseded by the proclamation of a British Protectorate over approximately the whole of present-day Nyasaland. In April 1891 the Foreign Office sanctioned the extension of the B.S.A. Company's operations to the north of the Zambezi within the British sphere of influence, excluding Nyasaland. It was, however, still uncertain whether or not the administration of the Protectorate was to remain permanently separate from that of the B.S.A. Company's territory to the west. A complicated story of financial negotiations and of a quarrel between Johnston and Rhodes ended in an agreement whereby after 30 June 1895 all administrative connexion between the two territories ceased.[19]

The western boundary of the Protectorate proclaimed in 1891 175
was based on that laid down for the Conventional Basin of the
Congo[20] at the Berlin West African Conference in 1885. This line, 648
the Zambezi-Nyasa watershed, passed through the eastern portion of Mpezeni's country, leaving the greater portion of Ngoniland outside the Protectorate. The dividing line between the British and Portuguese spheres of influence was not finally determined until the Anglo-Portuguese agreement of 11 June 1891. Despite the Portuguese flags and Wiese's affirmations of friendship, the whole of Mpezeni's country was placed by this agreement in the British and not in the Portuguese sphere, as it had also been in the unratified convention of 20 August 1890.[21] As a consequence, then, of the proclamation of the Nyasaland Protectorate, the extension northwards of the B.S.A. Company's sphere of activity, and the Anglo-Portuguese agreement, Mpezeni's country was divided between the Protectorate and the B.S.A. Company's territory. In consequence of the agreement, or because Mpezeni was tired of them, Wiese and the Portuguese expedition left Ngoniland.

Despite this formal division Mpezeni had as yet, as Johnston was to point out six years later, 'ceded nothing to anybody'.[22] On

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[19] *State papers*, lxxxi, p. 1009, No. 243; *London Gazette*, 15 May 1891 and 24 February 1893; *A & P*, 1890, li, pp. 634-40; *A & P*, 1895, lxxi, pp. 565-8; Johnston, *Story of my life*, p. 497.

[20] *A & P*, 1884-5, lv, p. 439.

[21] *A & P*, 1890-1, lvii, pp. 589, 625; *A & P*, 1890-1, xcvi, p. 420.

[22] 158, p. 63. cf. 132, p. 59.

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the other hand, Sharpe and Thomson had made treaties with some of the chiefs round about Mpezeni, and Johnston urged that Mpezeni had merely dispossessed these treaty-making chiefs and 'consequently declined to acknowledge him as ruling chief'. Mpezeni, he held, was a 'robber without rights'.[23] As a matter of policy Johnston supported the friendly matrilineal tribes rather than Mpezeni. He also opposed him because of the Ngoni raids which threatened the settled order he was trying to establish. He held that Mpezeni was such a scourge of the indigenous population that he must some day be dealt with, that he was an intrusive Zulu robber who must eventually be subdued and dethroned, when the country could be administered directly by Europeans or could be restored to the government of the rightful indigenous chieftains.[24] Even after Mpezeni had been defeated, the precipitating causes of the war were regarded by the Nyasaland Administration as only incidental, for 'The Angoni had, however, by their incessant raids into our territory made it a matter which sooner or later would have to be dealt with . . . '.[25]

One factor which delayed Johnston from acting as swiftly against Mpezeni as he did against the Yao and southern Ngoni was that Mpezeni was farther than they from the main artery of Nyasaland, Lake Nyasa and the Shire Valley. In any case Johnston was anxious not to take precipitate action with too few troops which might end in disaster. He was reluctant to allow the parties of prospectors and traders who entered Mpezeni's country to take arms with them lest they should provoke the Ngoni into attacking them before Johnston was ready. He was anxious to avoid having to face an alliance of all the various Ngoni groups. After the downfall of Lobengula in Southern Rhodesia in 1893, Ndebele refugees reached Mpezeni and according to some reports Lobengula himself was among them. Co-ordinated action by Mpezeni and the Ndebele was feared and, as we shall see, an attempt was in fact made by Chabisa to unite Mpezeni's forces with the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland. The only offensive action taken by the Nyasaland Administration prior to the final conflict in 1898 was in May 1896, when troops were moved from Kotakota to Kasungu in response to a report that Mpezeni was planning to kill some prospectors, but the report was found to be false and the expedition was called off.[26]

[23] 158, pp. 62-3.
[24] 132; 158, p. 61.
[25] *A & P*, 1899, lxiii, p. 253.
[26] 98; 132; 148a, fo. 141; Warton in *African Review*, x, 216 (9 January 1897), p. 67.

These events made the inclusion of Mpezeni's country in the British colonial empire highly likely. The way in which this would come about was still not obvious, nor had it yet been decided who should control the economic resources of the area. It was the struggle for economic control which in the end decided the political issue. Here again Wiese played a prominent part. 175 648

3. *Concession hunters*

From 1885, if not before, Wiese lived in Ngoni country and among the neighbouring tribes as a trader.[27] His wife, who lived with him part of the time in Mpezeni's country, was Doña Romana, a black Portuguese lady who owned some hundreds of slaves. Wiese's commercial objectives can be inferred from the conversation he had with Sharpe on this matter in May 1890, when he mentioned that he employed over two hundred and fifty of his wife's slaves as elephant-hunters, and that he was planning to employ two thousand men in trading expeditions to the Luapula, Garanganze and other distant places. He was also at that time planning to make war on a certain Cewa chief.[28] 175 439

According to Wiese's own account, he gained a number of concessions from chiefs and he was granted in 1887 various mining rights by the Portuguese Government in the territory to the south of Mpezeni. On 15 November 1886 Mpezeni orally granted him a concession for ninety-nine years and, Wiese claimed, this agreement was ratified in writing on 14 April 1891. Mpezeni, described as 'Paramount Chief of the Angoni (Zulus) and Sovereign Ruler over Maravia and Western Nyassaland', granted Wiese a concession in 'one part' of his country some 6,700 square miles in extent and reaching to within twelve miles of the Zambezi near Chicoa. In return for exclusive mineral, timber, water, railway and other rights, Wiese agreed to pay Mpezeni £200 annually and 1 per cent of his profits. Mpezeni reserved the rights of sovereignty over his people and the land, water and timber necessary to his subjects were guaranteed.[29] [31]

A few months before this written concession was drawn up, Bowler and Rankin, representing the comprehensively named Upper and Lower Zambezi Navigation, Exploration, Trading, Land-acquiring and Colonization Company, Limited, arrived in

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[27] Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 86, says that Wiese visited Mpezeni in 1881. Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 71, in another tentative chronology, follows him, although there is no mention of this visit in the body of Poole's book. Wiese himself appears not to mention any date earlier than 1885. See 40.

[28] 67, fo. 139; 12, fo. 285.

[29] 31, pp. 17-18.

175 the country.[30] They joined Wiese in collecting concessions from
439 the surrounding chiefs.[31]

A legal procedure for registering and recognizing concessions
175 within the British sphere was established by Johnston on 18 July
439 1891.[32] Without recognition by Johnston's Land Court, a con-
648 cession did not of itself establish a clear right to title under British law. The issue of this proclamation may have been prompted by Wiese's actions. In June, shortly before it was issued, Wiese was travelling to Europe with his concessions. He met Johnston at Quilimane and asked him to recognize them.[33] Johnston refused to do this. He particularly objected to the concession from Mpezeni, not only for its monopolies but also because it had not been signed by Mpezeni but only by a Portuguese allegedly acting on the chief's behalf, and because Mpezeni did not control the large area mentioned in the concession. Such land as he did control he had obtained only by dispossessing the earlier inhabitants. Johnston regarded Wiese as a slave trader who forced chiefs to make their mark on documents without explaining what the documents meant and without making any payment for the concessions obtained. He maintained that Mpezeni had never granted any rights to Wiese and wrote of the concession: 'I always refused to recognize his preposterous document.' He complained that Wiese tried to 'bounce the British Government into recognition of his (wholly unfounded) claims'. Johnston later argued that in order to conclude eight of his other treaties, Wiese must have travelled five hundred miles between 20 December and 23 January, an improbable occurrence.[34] Acting on this policy Johnston insisted, at Quilimane, that he must examine Wiese's concessions before he could pronounce on them. Wiese made a declaration before Johnston's deputy describing the concessions and went on his way to Europe, he maintaining he had thereby registered his concessions and Johnston maintaining he had not.[35]

Wiese's agents in London began corresponding with the Foreign Office in December 1891 pressing for the recognition of his

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[30] Hole, *Making of Rhodesia*, p. 241; 17, fo. 390-1.

[31] Bradley, 'Salute to adventurers', p. 54, says Wiese bought concessions from Bowler and Rankin.

[32] 36; 58, fo. 420.

[33] 40, p. 33; 49, p. 14; 67, fo. 140; 81, fo. 144-5.

[34] 49; 81, fo. 148.

[35] There is some uncertainty about the date on which Wiese made his statement at Quilimane. Johnston refers to a declaration sworn to by Wiese before the Acting Vice-Consul on 7 June 1891. Bowler's letter to the Foreign Office was supported by a copy of a receipt for a fee paid for witnessing a signature, dated 27 June. cf. 35; 48, p. 15; 74.

concessions. In January 1892 Wiese offered his services to Johnston 175
as an agent, and in March repeated the offer. He seems to have men- 439
tioned the possibility of his leading the Ngoni in battle on behalf of
the Administration. Johnston rejected these offers contemptuously 648
along with similar offers made by Bowler, saying that he wanted
Bowler and Wiese to remain in Europe. He also remained adamant
in his refusal to recognize Wiese's concessions, although the Foreign
Office itself continued to prevaricate on this issue.[36]

In 1891 or 1892 Wiese visited Lisbon in an effort to collect the £2,000 owing to him for his services to the Portuguese during 1888 and the following years. It was, however, in London that he tried to obtain financial backing so that he could begin to exploit his concessions, with or without recognition from Johnston. According to Johnston, Wiese offered his concessions to the Central African and Zoutpansberg Exploration Company, with which the naval explorer Cameron was connected. In August 1892 Wiese told Johnston that he was no longer personally interested in the fate of the concessions. According to a Foreign Office minute, Wiese offered the concessions to the B.S.A. Company for a small sum in January 1893. The search for financial support ended on 18 February 1893 when the Mozambique Gold Land and Concessions Company Limited was incorporated in London to operate Wiese's concessions, for which they paid him £1,500.[37]

The Mozambique Company approached the Foreign Office and were instructed first to register their concessions in Nyasaland. According to Johnston, early in 1893 Bowler sent copies of the concessions to Johnston, who replied that he must produce the originals or certified copies. In April and May 1893 there was an exchange of letters between Wiese and Johnston about the recognition of the concessions, and in the autumn Bowler wrote again on the matter. However, according to Johnston, between June and October 1891 the African Lakes and British South Africa companies had placed claims before his Land Court for recognition in the prescribed manner and no counter-claims were registered there.[38] Therefore, on 25 September 1893 Johnston granted a certificate of claim to the B.S.A. Company, in its commercial capacity, entitling them to exercise mining and other rights throughout the greater part of what was to become North-Eastern Rhodesia and including the whole of Mpezeni's country outside Nyasaland.

[36] 39; 42; 46, fo. 7; 47, fo. 36; 48; 49; 51; 52; 64, fo. 85-6.

[37] 67, fo. 140; 81, fo. 145; 64, fo. 89 (minute); 230, p. 69; *Maugham report*, p. 6.

[38] 80; 81, fo. 144, 146; 82.

175 The B.S.A. Company produced in its support treaties made by
Sharpe and Stevenson with six chiefs, Mpezeni not among them.
439 Johnston's argument for including Mpezeni's country within the
648 area of the grant appears to have been that the land had been
wrested by Mpezeni from the treaty-making chiefs. None of the six
chiefs mentioned by name in the certificate made any claim in the
treaties to rights in Mpezeni's country, and indeed only one of
them, Muliro, a minor Nsenga-Ambo chief, bordered on
Mpezeni.

However Johnston also refers in the certificate of claim to 'similar
privileges obtained through treaties concluded by the African
Lakes Company and transferred by them to the British South
Africa Company (the said treaties have received separate confirmation at my hands)'. These additional treaties are not specified
in the certificate but later Johnston wrote, in connexion with the
North Charterland Concession granted by the B.S.A. Company,
that 'the B.S.A. Company would base its right to grant this concession on its recognized treaties with Undi, Mwasi Kazungu and
...(I forget the names), the indigenous and partially dispossessed
chiefs of Mpezeni's country'. Sharpe had made a treaty with Undi
131 on 15 April 1891, in which the northern boundary of Undi's
175 territory was said to be the parallel of latitude 14° S. or thereabouts,
439 thus cutting into the southern fringe of the no-man's-land round
648 Mpezeni. Mwase made two treaties, one on 17 September 1885
with Stevenson as agent of the African Lakes Company and
another on 30 November 1889 with the British Crown. In the
earlier treaty the extent of Mwase's country is not stated but when
the benefits of this treaty were transferred to the B.S.A. Company
in 1893, Mwase's country was said to be bounded on the west by
the water-parting between the Luangwa and Zambezi-Nyasa
basins and on the south by the Anglo-Portuguese border. This
water-parting does not meet the Anglo-Portuguese frontier until as
far west as about 31° 15′ E., in what is now Petauke District, and
in Ngoniland it runs approximately east-west on latitude 13° 49′ S.
In the area controlled by Mpezeni, Mwase's territory, as defined
in the transfer agreement, included the whole portion claimed by
Undi in 1891 and in addition a strip of land to the north of Undi's
claim, forming the southern margin of the Ngoni settled area. The
main concentration of Ngoni villages, in the valleys of the Lutembwe, Lunthwele and Msipazi rivers, lay just north of the territory
175 claimed for Mwase. Thus the grant of rights to the B.S.A. Company
439 in Mpezeni's country appears to have been based for the most
648 part on treaties made with chiefs whose names Johnston forgot,

and possibly also on the 1889 treaty between Mwase and the British Crown.[39] 175

Johnston granted a second certificate of claim, completed on 28 September 1893, to the African Lakes and B.S.A. companies jointly, based on the 1891 treaty with Undi and on another made a week later with a neighbouring chief. The area mentioned in this certificate conforms to that laid down in the treaty.[40] 439 648

Therefore when Warton arrived in Nyasaland in 1894 as emissary of the Mozambique Company and tried to secure recognition of Wiese's concessions, he found that the area claimed by his company had already been granted to its rivals. He succeeded in registering the concessions but not in gaining recognition of their validity.

Johnston registered, but did not recognize, the Wiese concessions. On the other hand the concessions acquired by the B.S.A. Company, though registered and recognized by Johnston, were not yet confirmed by the Foreign Office. Johnston's conduct of the affair did not meet with approval from his superiors at home, who thought that Warton had been unfairly treated.[41] One consideration influencing the Foreign Office may have been Wiese's German nationality. There had been an Anglo-German Agreement in 1891[42] defining the spheres of influence of these two countries in central Africa, but Maugham suggests that the Foreign Office thought that Wiese, after offering his services to Portugal and Britain, might now turn to Germany who could then use his concessions as the basis of a claim to the territory. At the same time the Foreign Office thought it might be unwise to declare the concessions invalid, since they might sometime be acquired by the B.S.A. Company and be used to strengthen its hand. Wiese, who according to Johnston had run away from Germany to evade conscription, had nevertheless received the support of the German Minister in Lisbon in securing rights to extensive estates in Portuguese East Africa in lieu of the £2,000 he had been promised originally by the Portuguese Government. Johnston suspected Wiese of trying to introduce German methods on his estates and wrote that it would be 'awkward' if the land between Nyasaland and the coast were 'in the hands of a stronger Power than Portugal and one

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[39] 73; 75, fo. 180-1; 76; 7, fo. 33; 158, p. 61. I am much indebted to Sir Dougal Malcolm and the British South Africa Company for permission to cite the 1885 treaty and the transfer agreement of 1893. Unfortunately I have been unable to trace the 1889 treaty.

[40] 74.

[41] 85.

[42] *A & P*, 1890, li, pp. 24-31.

175 far less likely to yield its pretensions'. These considerations found
439 expression in the agreement of 24 November 1894, allowing the
B.S.A. Company to take over from Johnston the administration of
648 its sphere north of the Zambezi. The Foreign Office stipulated that
sanction for the treaties made by the B.S.A. Company's agents was
to be without prejudice to Wiese's possible claims.[43]

The Mozambique Company opened negotiations with the B.S.A. Company with these registered but unrecognized concessions as their asset. Agreement was reached on 8 May 1895. In return for any rights they might have in the British sphere under Wiese's concessions, and conditional on their raising certain capital, the Mozambique Company were granted mineral and land rights in a block of land ten thousand square miles in extent within the B.S.A. Company's territory. The rights of Natives were to be respected. Any rights the Mozambique Company might have in Portuguese territory were not to be exercised. A new company, the North Charterland Exploration Company, in which the B.S.A. Company had an interest, was formed to operate the grant of land. Thus the North Charterland Concession came into being. The whole of Mpezeni's country, except for that portion included in the Nyasaland Protectorate, came within the Concession.[44]

Some thirty-five years later, Mr. Justice Maugham was to rule that this grant to the Mozambique Company could only have been potential, not actual, since at that time the B.S.A. Company did not yet possess the mineral and other rights they were making over. At the time this consideration carried no weight. In April 1895, even before agreement with the B.S.A. Company had been concluded, the Mozambique Company's pioneer party reached Tete. They arrived in Ngoniland in the following year.[45]

4. *European consolidation*

In Nyasaland fighting continued sporadically in an attempt to
175 end the slave trade. From 1891 onwards Johnston's troops fought
439 a series of engagements with Arabs, Yao and southern Ngoni.
567 Mpezeni was regarded not only as a robber with whom no treaties
648 were necessary but also as a partner in the slave trade, for one of
721 the main routes used by Arabs and their African colleagues ran
near Mpezeni's country.[46] All Ngoni raids were interpreted by the
Nyasaland Administration as raids for slaves and Sharpe, describing his second visit to Mpezeni, wrote that the chief did a brisk

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[43] 67, fo. 141-2; 95, p. 48.

[44] 99; 100.

[45] *Maugham report*, pp. 6-7.

[46] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 3 (1 February 1896), p. 2, and iii, 8 (15 April 1896), p. 1.

trade in slaves, selling them to the Arabs.[47] Wiese's evidence on 175
this point is contradictory. In 1881 he wrote that Arab caravans 439
continually visited Mpezeni and that most of the raids were to 567
capture slaves for sale to the Arabs. In 1900, he wrote in one 648
place that some captives were sold to the Arabs and in another that 721
Mpezeni scarcely knew of the permanent slave hunters and that the sole object of major raids was to gain captives to cultivate the Ngoni fields.[48] Few tales of the Arabs and no nicknames have survived to the present time among the Ngoni, and it is probable that Sharpe was overestimating the importance to Mpezeni of the external slave trade. Although Livingstone knew it, Wiese and Kerr are the only contemporary writers who were aware that captives were assimilated,[49] for other writers do not distinguish between captives and slaves. Whether or not the raids were made for Ngoni recruits or for slaves to be sold to the Arabs, it is clear that they were often made into Nyasaland and thus challenged the Administration there. Towards the end of 1895 the Collector at 175
Kotakota opened a campaign against Mwase Kasungu, the Cewa 439
chief whose territory lay between Mpezeni and the Ngoni of 648
northern Nyasaland. It is alleged that Mpezeni offered to help Mwase in this campaign, but it seems that no help arrived. On 31 December 1895 the fortified village of Kasungu was captured and Chabisa, a chief who had been helping Mwase, fled to Mpezeni.[50]

Chabisa may have been the moving spirit behind the delegation which early in 1896 went from Mpezeni to the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland calling on them to rise with him and Chabisa against the British.[51] The Livingstonia Mission had already been working [797]
among the northern Ngoni for eighteen years, and the delegation found little support.

As well as Chabisa, other refugees arrived from the south, after the First Matabele War of 1893 in Southern Rhodesia. According to some accounts the Ndebele Paramount Chief, Lobengula, was with them, only to die a few months later.[52]

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[47] Sharpe, 'Lake Nyassa', p. 745. cf. Perham, *Ten Africans*, p. 96.

[48] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 478 and 'Geschichte', pp. 188 and 197.

[49] Livingstone, *Narrative*, p. 385; Kerr, 'Upper Zambesi', p. 396.

[50] Swann, the Collector, in *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 4 (15 February 1896), p. 1, and *A & P*, 1896, lviii, pp. 417, 418, describes Chabisa and Mwase as Ngoni and Zulu chiefs. Money and Smith, 'Explorations', p. 168, say Mwase and Chabisa were brothers. It is unlikely that either was Ngoni. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 144, calls Mwase a Cewa but says he had many Ngoni headmen under him, thereby amending his earlier statements that Mwase and Undi were Ngoni. See 22, fo. 129; *A & P*, 1896, lviii, p. 412.

[51] Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 292.

[52] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 10 (15 May 1896), p. 2; Lancaster, 'Tentative chronology', p. 83; Posselt, *Upengula*, pp. 112-24; 98; 121, fo. 193.

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Meanwhile there was a lull in European activity in Mpezeni's country itself. After Wiese and the Portuguese officer left in mid-1891 a Portuguese trader remained behind. He was subsequently killed, either by accident or on Mpezeni's instructions.[64] After sending envoys to Johnston on Lake Nyasa in January 1890 and reporting the death of the Portuguese trader, Mpezeni seems not to have made any attempts to get in touch with Europeans for some years. Johnston sent an influential Swahili headman to visit Mpezeni in 1891, but Mpezeni threatened to behead the messenger if he entered Ngoniland, and he turned back before reaching the country.[65] In 1892 Ngoni patrols sweeping to the south in Undi's country came in touch with a French explorer living there and some of them were killed by his men. In 1895 they made contact with him again and he visited a senior lieutenant of segment 4.[66]

But the Frenchman was a bird of passage. It was not until 5 December 1895 that prospectors arrived with the intention of remaining in the country. They represented the Rhodesia Concessions Company and began to build Fort Partridge at Mafuta's, only twenty miles to the north of Mpezeni.[67] In the face of Johnston's opposition they had been allowed to bring Maxim guns with them. Despite the threat to Mpezeni implicit in this, they were at first received hospitably. Later the Ngoni became less friendly towards them, due, they thought, to the arrival of Chabisa and the Ndebele refugees and also because of the news reaching Mpezeni of increasing British activity in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. In May 1896 the prospectors thought that they might all be massacred and appealed for help to Kotakota. Troops were moved up from the Lake to Kasungu but, as we have mentioned above, they withdrew when it was found that the prospectors were in no danger. Nevertheless the prospectors left Ngoniland on 13 June, not for fear of Mpezeni but because the North Charterland complained that they were poaching on its preserves.[68] Thus the control of Europeans in his country had already passed out of Mpezeni's hands.

There were a number of transient visitors to Mpezeni in 1896,[69] and the B.S.A. Company's representative paid a visit, but

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[64] 67, fo. 140.

[65] 81, fo. 147-8.

[66] Foà, *Lac Nyassa*, p. 281, and *Big game*, pp. 84, 105. In another account, 'Traversée de l'Afrique', p. 113, Foà says he visited the lieutenant in 1892.

[67] See Map C.

[68] 97; 101, fo. 483; 102, fo. 479; 113, fo. 41; 115, fo. 281; 125; 126; 148a, fo. 141; *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 10 (15 May 1896), p. 2, and iii, 11 (1 June 1896), p. 2; Money and Smith, 'Explorations', p. 168; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 12.

[69] McClonnie, Smith and Fraser, reported in *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 10 (15 May 1896), p. 1, and iii, 13 (1 July 1896), p. 2.

the most serious intrusion was from the direction of Tete. After his 175
return to Africa in 1892, Wiese had occupied himself with his 439
newly won estates in the Zambezi Valley, where his activities 648
attracted the unfavourable attention of Johnston. His interests in Mpezeni's country took second place for a while, despite his letter to Johnston about them on 14 May 1893. It appears that when the Mozambique Company's party arrived at Tete in April 1895 they made contact with Wiese. Thereafter he was closely connected with the activities of the Mozambique Company and of its successor, the North Charterland. The exact course of events is not clear. Johnston reported on 24 March 1896 that Wiese had broken with the North Charterland, yet when Warton visited Mpezeni four months later as leader of the North Charterland delegation, Wiese was with him as interpreter.[60]

At the beginning of 1896 representatives of the North Charterland first arrived in Ngoni country. After a short time, one of them was expelled by Mpezeni. On 5 July 1896 Warton with the main party established the North Charterland headquarters at a camp, later known as Fort Young, in the heart of Ngoniland adjacent to Loangeni, headquarters of segment 10.[61]

At first Mpezeni treated the North Charterland party kindly and provided them with carriers to bring up their loads from Tete.[62] According to the Foreign Office, whose sources of information I cannot trace, Mpezeni was friendly because Wiese emphasized that he was a German and offered himself and the expedition as a bulwark against British expansion. Warton, the ex-secretary of a cricket team and sometime lieutenant-colonel, posed, it was said, as Wiese's elder brother.[63] These allegations were denied by Warton and Wiese. They pointed out that the first member of the North Charterland party to enter Ngoniland had been an Englishman and maintained that Mpezeni was too intelligent not to recognize for himself the difference between an Englishman and a German. Warton had been introduced by Wiese merely as *okullo-ango* [*mkulu wangu*, my superior]. They maintained that the British flag had always been flown with the North Charterland's own flag.[64] Warton and Wiese's testimony conflicts with the Ngoni recollection

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[60] *Maugham report*, p. 7; 121, fo. 192; 163; 164; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 12*f*.

[61] 121, fo. 192; 163; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 12, 71. Deare, who never mentions Warton or Wiese by name, claims to have been first to build the fort. Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April.

[62] Forbes in *C.A.P.*, 15 November 1896; Warton in *African Review*, x, 216 (9 January 1897), p. 67; Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April; 148a, fo. 141.

[63] 160, p. 64; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 12; Read, 'Tradition', p. 478.

[64] 163; 164.

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439 of these events, as recorded by Read, and with the contemporary
648 account of Genthe. Genthe was a German traveller who always flew a British flag in central Africa. There was no flag at Warton's camp when he visited it in 1897 and the North Charterland asked him not to display his Union Jack. Whatever may really have happened, an explanation of the North Charterland's success by reference to its anti-British pose conflicts with the evidence of Mpezeni's missions of friendship to the Collector at Kotakota. Deare, one of the North Charterland party, gives the impression that the success of the expedition was due to his ability to speak Zulu, make the right presents, and diagnose the cause of illness in Mpezeni's cattle. This explanation seems just as likely.[65]

It seems probable that Mpezeni was prepared to be friendly with the British at a distance but did not want them on his doorstep. We have noted his deputation to Johnston in January 1890. Early in 1896 Mpezeni sent a mission to the Collector at Kotakota asking for a British flag. Surprisingly this overture seems not to have been followed up. Swann, the Collector, did, however, send twelve beasts as a present to Mpezeni who replied, after prompting from Swann, with a gift of ivory.[66] In September Mpezeni sent word to the Collector that he had punished his warriors who had attacked some B.S.A. Company's carriers. In October his envoys told the Collector that he did not allow raiding and that he was glad to hear of raiders being punished when they were caught, while in February 1897 he appealed through his messengers to the Administration for help in restraining his people from raiding inside Nyasaland.

Wiese accompanied Mpezeni's envoys on this last trip to Kotakota and according to a North Charterland account of their mission, Mpezeni then consented to the introduction of a British garrison in his territory.[67] Even towards Warringham, the B.S.A. Company's representative, he was friendly at first. In about June 1896 he exchanged presents with him and made many expressions of good will, though telling Warringham that he was not afraid to meet him in war if necessary.[68]

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[65] Genthe, 'Mpezeni's', p. 1; 165; Deare, 'Slave raiders', 20, 27 April, 4 May.

[66] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 4 (15 February 1896), p. 1, and iii, 8 (15 April 1896), p. 1; *A & P*, 1896, lviii, p. 427; Swann, *Slave hunters*, pp. 315-16.

[67] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 12 (15 June 1896), p. 1; iii, 18 (1 October 1896), p. 2; iii, 22 (1 December 1896), p. 3; iv, 4 (1 March 1897), p. 3; and iv, 7 (15 April 1897), p. 1; 165.

[68] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 15 (1 August 1896), p. 3; Money and Smith, 'Explorations', p. 168.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

5. *Friction*

On 14 May 1897 Mpezeni wrote to the Collector at Kotakota 175
that he wished to move across the border into the Protectorate. 439
He said, 'If you agree to my removing . . . I shall not raid anywhere.'
He was prepared to pay tax if called upon to do so.[69] He may have 648
been led to take this drastic step by his growing annoyance at the activities of Warton and the North Charterland party. In 1896 Warton had apparently enjoyed Mpezeni's approval but he soon began to displease him. Johnston, who had no high opinion of his fellow-men, described Warton as 'that not very capable or prudent man' and as 'not a bad man but not very trustworthy'. The North Charterland was a purely commercial company and Warton had no administrative powers. These were reserved under the charter to the B.S.A. Company and were exercised on its behalf by Johnston until 1 July 1895, when Forbes was appointed Administrator for the B.S.A. Company's sphere. As yet, however, in Johnston's view, the B.S.A. Company had no governing rights in Mpezeni's country, as neither Mpezeni, nor the chiefs he was held to have displaced, had ceded them.[70] Forbes's nearest representatives were Warringham and Middleton, who in March 1896 made a camp sixty miles to the north of Mpezeni in the country of Cinunda, a Cewa chief. Forbes visited Mpezeni in September 1896, but with no success.[71] Warton considered that in the absence of any action by the B.S.A. Company he must set up his own administration. He drew up elaborate plans for developing the country, calling for an armed police force and for a hut tax of 5*s*.[72] He believed, he said, that if Mpezeni were convinced that the North Charterland had sufficient force available, he would not resist them.[73] He may have been influenced in adopting this attitude by the remark he attributed to the chief that if he was seriously threatened by Europeans he would give way. This conflicts with Mpezeni's remark to Warringham that he was quite prepared to fight, which we have noted above. According to Johnston, Warton tried to force a flag on Mpezeni and to stop him raiding for slaves. Johnston seems not to have been impressed with the delegations to Kotakota and maintained that Mpezeni organized raids to spite Warton.[74]

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[69] 167.

[70] 169, fo. 63; 171, fo. 161; 158, p. 63; *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 13 (1 August 1897), p. 2, cols. 1 and 3; *A & P.*, 1896, lviii, p. 425.

[71] Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 12, 71; *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 19 (15 October 1896), p. 2.

[72] Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 12-13.

[73] 122.

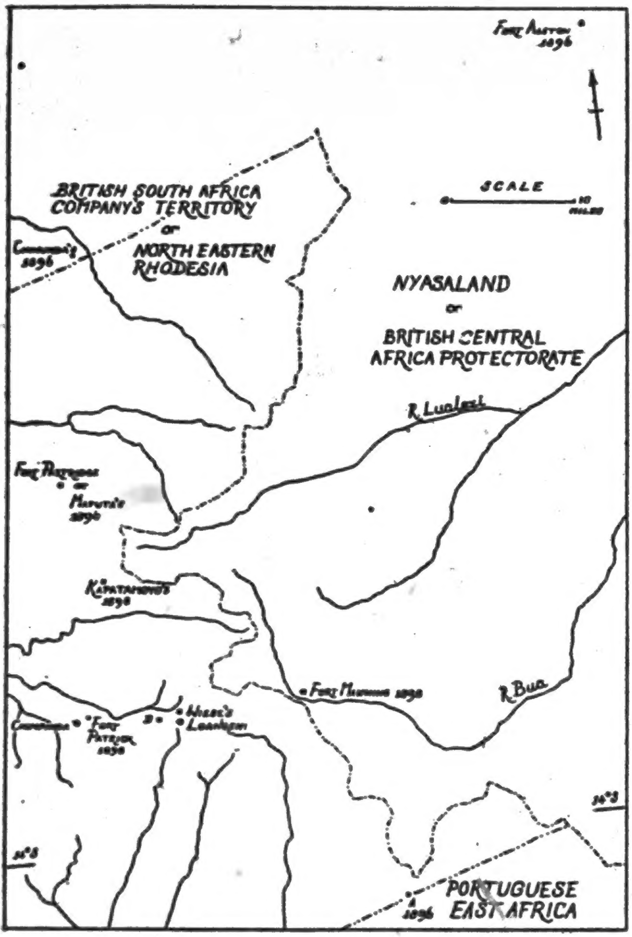
[74] 132, p. 59; 158, p. 62.

[Text continues on page 85]

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

MAP C. WHITE SETTLEMENTS IN NGONILAND
1890–1900

102
103
133
648
175


Fort Alston 1896
SCALE
10 miles
BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY'S TERRITORY or NORTH EASTERN RHODESIA
Chinunda's 1896
NYASALAND or BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA PROTECTORATE
R. Luangwa
Fort Jameson or Mafuta's 1896
Kapatamoyo's 1898
Fort Manning 1898
R. Bua
Chimpinga
Fort Patrick 1898
B
Wiese's
Loangweni
14°S
14°S
A 1896
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA

White territorial boundaries.
North Charterland Concession, northern boundary.
● White settlements, with date of foundation.
A Camp near Missale known in 1896 as Fort Young.
B Brick building known from 1898 onwards as Fort Young or Fort Ettamia.

Fort Jameson. The name applied in 1896 to a camp at Chinunda's; possibly in October 1897 to Mafuta's; from December 1897 until March 1898 to Chinunda's; and from October 1898 onwards to the township founded at Kapatamoyo's.

Fort Young. The name applied in 1896 to a camp (A) at Missale; in 1897 and 1898 to a camp, also known as Wiese's or Chakwaka, near the village of Loangweni; and from later in 1898 onwards to a brick building (B) about two miles farther west.

Loangweni. Ngoni village, headquarters of segment 10.

Chimpinga. Ngoni village, headquarters of segment 15, also known as Mpezeni's.

[p. 84]

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

6. *Fighting*

The European travellers who came to Ngoniland did not come alone. They brought with them their own retinues of servants and carriers, usually not Ngoni, who took orders only from their own masters and over whose misdoings there was continual friction with the Ngoni.[75] Wiese had an armed guard of a hundred and twenty Makua, though later this was disbanded.[76] Mpezeni insisted that the so-called Fort Young should not have a stockade but only a low reed fence, presumably to prevent the North Charterland from putting themselves beyond the reach of his warriors.[77] On the other hand Warton and the North Charterland directors were insistent that their employees should be armed, sought permission from the Foreign Office to import arms through Nyasaland, and even threatened to withdraw if the B.S.A. Company did not make adequate arrangements for their protection. Johnston was firmly opposed to private armies and private wars, and the Foreign Office advocated that if the North Charterland was in a precarious position it should withdraw until an administration had been established. Eventually Johnston came round to the view that the B.S.A. Company was so committed in Southern Rhodesia that it could not provide the North Charterland with the protection it was entitled to, and that, therefore, the North Charterland had a reasonable claim to arms of its own. Accordingly in July 1896, he reluctantly approved the import of two Maxim guns 'for eventual use against Mpezeni'. These Maxims seem never to have arrived, but Deare successfully smuggled in thirty rifles.[78] Thus the stage was set for struggle by persuasion to give way to struggle by arms.

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At the same time as they were thus altering the distribution of power within Ngoni country, the European intruders were developing external relations with other African groups which were incompatible with the raided-raiding relationship existing between them and the Ngoni. Wiese had trading-stations in other tribal areas,[79] and we have already noted his plans for building up a large trading business based on the labour of his wife's slaves. Genthe was friendly with Cewa and Kunda chiefs and on that account tried to represent their interests to Mpezeni after they had been raided.[80] Deare went to visit Cimwala and Undi, Cewa chiefs, in about January

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[75] e.g. the affair of the stolen red blankets, described by Deare, 'Slave raiders', 4 May.

[76] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 14.

[77] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April.

[78] [illegible], pp. 57-8; 129-33; 139-42; 149; 155; 156.

[79] [illegible]

[80] *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 13 (1 August 1897), pp. 1-2.

175 1897 and some time later they came to visit him at Fort Young. 439 Deare gave them presents, presumably to gain their support for his own enterprises, and makes no mention of their seeing Mpezeni.[81] 648 Undi was the chief who claimed part of Mpezeni's country in his [721] treaty with Sharpe and who in 1892, when Foà was living in his village, was raided by Ngoni several times a month.[82] Thus the Europeans in Ngoniland were affiliated not only to European groups in Nyasaland and in England out of direct touch with Mpezeni but also with African groups with whom he was in contact. There was an essential contradiction in the situation in which, for example, Deare was friendly with both Mpezeni and Undi while Mpezeni was at war with Undi. Everywhere, not only in Nyasaland, the traditional Ngoni pattern of external relations was becoming incompatible with their relations with Europeans in their midst.

The leader of the opposition to the North Charterland was Nsingu, Mpezeni's heir.[83] Nsingu was at first friendly towards Warton but later his attitude changed. Deare, before establishing the North Charterland camp in 1896, had passed through Nsingu's [576] village, by Ngoni standards an insulting thing to do, and later quarrelled with him, finally flogging him.[84] Genthe, the German traveller, met Nsingu on a path and only grudgingly gave way to let him pass.[85] While Mpezeni remained comparatively friendly, Nsingu and the warriors whose interests he came to represent became increasingly hostile towards all Europeans. At the same time Mpezeni's control over his lieutenants seems not to have been effective, as evidenced by his apparent inability to prevent unauthorized raiding. Deare, according to his own account, enjoyed Mpezeni's favour and was almost forced to marry one of his daughters, and yet Mashanga, the second lieutenant of segment 10, twice tried to kill him.[86] According to Genthe, Mpezeni sent repeatedly for some army leaders who had been raiding and they failed to appear. This may have been deliberate procrastination arranged by Mpezeni, who treated him coldly, but Genthe thought that Mpezeni was only a dummy whose lieutenants did what they liked.[87] With Deare there seems to have been a genuine difference in attitude between Mashanga on the one side and on the other Mpezeni, supported by Mcekwani, the first lieutenant over c

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[81] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 4 May.
[82] Foà, *Lac Nyassa*, pp. 280-1.
[83] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 13.
[84] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April.
[85] *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 13 (1 August 1897), p. 1.
[86] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May. cf. Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 470.
[87] Genthe, 'Mpezeni's'.

Mashanga. Swann appears to have believed Mpezeni sincerely wished 175
to stop raiding into the Protectorate although his people continued 438
to do so.[88] 648

The cleavage within the tribe between Chief and people 643
was attributed by Wiese to the large number of captives who had
been incorporated.[89] We may well ask whether there had not 727
always been considerable fluidity in the distribution of power 631
among the different branches of the royal house and their sup- 175
porters. After the death of Zwangendaba there was factional
fighting, and at least once on the march north, about 1840, there [578]
was a purge in which the original members of the tribe, presumably
Ndwandwe by origin, killed off many of the more recently incorpor-
ated Tsonga who had been promoted at their expense.[90] These
struggles show clearly that the formal arrangement of segments
within the residential system did not preclude struggles for power [662]
within that system. The decline in power of Mpezeni and the rise
of his heir must indeed be seen as part of the normal operation of
the system rather than the result of manipulation or of unusual
external conditions.

Wiese anticipated that there would be fighting on the death of 175
Mpezeni.[91] Some idea of the way in which the fight would have 643
gone in the new circumstances of European contact is given by 648
Wiese's statement, in 1891, that Nzermane would not submit to Nsingu on Mpezeni's death and that he would be the best successor as far as the interests of Portugal were concerned.[92] Later, Deare remarked that the 'king had two other sons, younger than Tsinko, named Zamane and Madzimai, whom I never saw, but I learnt much about them and had fixed my eye on the former for the succession if anything happened'.[93] When British troops had already begun their advance on Ngoni, Manning, their commander, hoped that the tribe would split into factions, some of which would side with him.[94]

Fighting between rival claimants for the throne was likely even
without external backing for one candidate. We have only to turn 171
to Zululand for an analogous situation in which there was fighting 643

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[88] Swann's report for 1896, *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 7 (15 April 1897), p. 1.

[89] Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 187.

[90] See p. 19. Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 24; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 23; cf. Young, *History*, p. 112, who reverses the role played by witch-finders in this incident.

[91] As reported by Warton in June 1896, cited by Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 13.

[92] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 493.

[93] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May. In modern spelling, Nsingu, Nzermane, and Madzimawi.

[94] 181, fo. 39.

171 between rival heirs even while the occupant of the throne was still
643 alive. The brothers Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi fought for the heirship while their father Mpande was still chief.[96]

The apparent ineffectiveness of Mpezeni's rule may well have
175 been due to the increasing segmentation of the State as it expanded
643 and to the growing differentiation of interest between one major
648 segment and another. As it happened, there was no civil war and
669 the tribe did not split, at least not in these terms. A cleavage in the royal house did reveal itself later, in 1903, after British rule had begun, when Madzimawi tried to take the name of Zwangendaba and was opposed by the supporters of Mpezeni II, son of Nsingu. But by then the form of the State was already determined by political forces other than the balanced opposition of segments. It is significant of the changed situation that Madzimawi did not send his armed followers against the new Mpezeni to challenge his succession. Instead he applied to the Native Commissioner for permission to take the name of his grandfather.[97]

Instead of dividing in civil war the whole country united against the European interlopers. Mpezeni alone tried to protect his friend Wiese. The effective cleavage was not between rival heirs but between the Paramount Chief and his people. He was now a man in his sixties who seemed not to want war and who perhaps benefited more than his people from the presents made by Europeans. The Ngoni people continued to believe and teach that fighting was the proper occupation for men. An attempt to exploit this cleavage was made in 1897 when Wiese, perhaps remembering his earlier attempt to serve Portugal and Britain simultaneously, offered his services to the B.S.A. Company. Forbes thought that if Wiese was given troops, he would be supported by Mpezeni, who would then be in a position to hold Nsingu and the Ngoni warriors in check.[98] But this plan was overtaken by events.

We saw in the previous chapter that the organization of the
64 State was based on warfare, not only on war as an activity bringing
721 prestige to successful warriors but also on war as a method of
recruitment to the ever-widening segments of the residential
system. Without warfare to eliminate the unsuccessful and to bring
175 promotion and dependants to those who survived, the system could
439 not keep going. It was in no sense inevitable that the Fort Jameson
648 Ngoni and the British should fight; we have only to turn to the

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[96] Gluckman, 'Kingdom of the Zulu', pp. 35-6, and *Malinowski's Sociological Theories*, pp. 19-20; Krige, *Social system of the Zulu*, p. 19.
[97] See pp. 139*f*.
[98] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 14.

Ngoni of northern Nyasaland for a similar situation which ended 175
in the relatively peaceful incorporation of the tribe into the framework 439
of colonial administration. But in northern Nyasaland there 648
were no gold-mines, there were only missionaries. Johnston admits
that the presence of mission stations among the northern Nyasaland [797]
Ngoni embarrassed him, and he refrained from using force against them in 1895 because this might have interfered with missionary activity.[99] In Mpezeni's country there were no mission stations and, as it happened, no gold-mines worth worrying about either; but by the time this fact had been realized it had ceased to be significant for the Ngoni. The North Charterland was formed in the belief that Mpezeni's country was rich. The capital of the company, not all paid up, was £1,000,000 and in 1897 it offered a reward of £10,000 to the discoverer of the first payable gold-field in its concession.[100] Given the fact that wealth of this magnitude was at stake, that there was gold to be found, and given the tactlessness of Warton and the intransigence of Nsingu, it was likely that war would come sooner or later.

As it was, the end of the Ngoni State as a sovereign political unit and its incorporation within a colonial empire came suddenly. Instead of the gradual formation of new groupings and alignments, the new system began as suddenly as the old system ended. We tend to think of the arrival of Europeans in the backwoods of Africa as a gradual process extending through many decades, and indeed even in Ngoniland there were Europeans for at least thirteen years prior to the war. Yet to old Ngoni of to-day the coming of the Europeans is a precisely defined event which took place on 19 January 1898.

The sequence of events which culminated in the fighting was as
follows. In May 1897 some of Mpezeni's people began to build [342]
shelters and clear gardens at the headwaters of the River Bua, just [241]
inside the Nyasaland Protectorate. Sharpe, who had succeeded Johnston as Commissioner, was at first not greatly pleased, but instructed the Collector at Kotakota to make clear to Mpezeni that he would have to conform to the wishes of the Administration. A peaceful settlement between Mpezeni and the British seemed possible, and on second thoughts Sharpe was pleased to see, as he thought, Mpezeni removed from the sphere of influence of the North Charterland and the B.S.A. Company, who might have taken action against him and precipitated a crisis. However, the Collector was single-handed and it seems that he was unable to

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[99] *A & P*, 1896, lviii, p. 437.

[100] *African Review*, xiii, 254 (2 October 1897), p. 24.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

175 437 648 visit Mpezeni to arrange a peaceful settlement with him.[161] In any case, although some movement of population may well have taken place, Mpezeni and the greater part of his people remained outside the Protectorate and in the Concession. In October 1897 Warringham, the B.S.A. Company's Collector at Cinunda's, moved in closer to Ngoniland and occupied the abandoned Fort Partridge, twenty miles north of Mpezeni. A month or so later, he appears to have found it prudent to move back again to Cinunda's.[162]

In December Manning, acting as Commissioner while Sharpe was on leave, was told by a North Charterland official at Chikwakwa, on the Shire, that Mpezeni's warriors were said to have murdered two Europeans on their way from Tete. This report was not confirmed. On 28 December[163] news arrived from Warringham that he at Cinunda's and Wiese at Fort Young were in danger of attack and could not communicate with each other. On 4 January there was news that Wiese was safe. According to his own account, Wiese was secretly warned by Mpezeni of the planned attack on him and had time 'on the next dark night' to build a small fortification into which he retired.[164] However, Wiese and his two European companions thought themselves still in danger and on 9 January wrote to the North Charterland general manager and to Warringham at Cinunda's asking for help and arms.[165]

175 649 722 437 Meanwhile a force of about seven hundred troops was organized by Manning in Nyasaland. Warringham at Cinunda's was reinforced but on 9 January he reported that Ngoni raids were preventing him from collecting provisions. The next day there was news that Wiese, now with three other Europeans, was still surrounded at Fort Young and that the Ngoni had mustered fully forty thousand fighting men. The rear troops, whose progress

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[161] 172, fo. 61; 172, fo. 172; 173.

[162] Poole implies, but does not specifically mention, the move back to Cinunda's. In 1897 Genthe referred to the Cinunda camp as Fort Jameson and according to Poole this name was transferred to Fort Partridge when Warringham moved there. If so, the name must have been transferred back again with Warringham, for the Fort Jameson mentioned in reports of the fighting, both by Poole and in *B.C.A.G.* and dispatches, is the Cinunda camp. On the other hand, the new Fort Jameson established at Kapatamoyo's after the war is said to have been some twenty miles south of the earlier station of the same name. cf. *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 13 (1 August 1897), p. 1; *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 71; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 12, 14-15, 19. The name Fort Young was also moved about, being at first applied to a camp near Missale. cf. *C.A.P.*, 15 November 1896, p. 5, and 1 December 1896, p. 3.

[163] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 15, says this message reached Kotakota on 21 December. This seems unlikely, for Manning states that he received the news at Zomba by wire from Kotakota on the morning of 28 December. cf. 174; 175, fo. 376; *B.C.A.G.*, v, 1 (15 January 1898), p. 1.

[164] Wiese, 'Geschichte', pp. 186*ff.*

[165] 177-80.

towards Ngoniland had been halted after the report of 4 January, 175
resumed their march.

Four companies under Captain Brake reached Cinunda's on 648
17 January and left the next day for Fort Partridge, which was 726
burnt by Ngoni as they arrived. On 19 January they moved on 439
towards Fort Young. After some skirmishing they arrived there at 5.20 p.m. and relieved Wiese and his companions. Fort Young was only a few hundred yards outside Loangeni, headquarters of segment 10, and in the morning Brake found that this village and others near by, including Nsingu's, were full of warriors. Accordingly he decided not to withdraw to Fort Partridge as he had intended and sent his troops to clear the villages and burn them down. Later in the day there was organized fighting but in the face of fire from seven-pounders and Maxims the Ngoni lost heavily. The number of Ngoni warriors involved was estimated at from 4,000 to 5,000.[106]

On the next day, 21 January, Mpezeni sent messengers to 175
Captain Brake with a present of a sheep. Brake regarded this poor 439
present as an insult and insisted that he would negotiate only with
important lieutenants. The next day, five messengers arrived with 648
twelve head of cattle, but Brake regarded the messengers as slaves 728
and said that if a lieutenant did not come the next day, he would deal with Cimpinga, headquarters of segment 15 where Mpezeni was living, as he had dealt with Nsingu's village. On 23 January a lieutenant and an important man arrived to see Brake and were interviewed by him the next day. They stated that Mpezeni was weary of the war brought on by the misconduct of his sons, and that he placed himself in Brake's hands to impose what conditions of peace he might choose. When Brake arrived at Cimpinga on 25 January he was met by two men who said that Mpezeni had gone into hiding outside the village. Brake told them to tell Mpezeni to come, otherwise the village would be destroyed. Brake waited until 5 p.m. and then burnt the village except for Mpezeni's own hut and those of his wives. The next day Lt. Sharp, with five men, succeeded in encountering Mpezeni, who had fifty men with him. Mpezeni asked for twenty minutes' grace while his wives got away and managed to slip away himself.

The main body of troops under Manning arrived at Cimpinga on 28 January. Manning sent out messengers to inform the Ngoni that unless Nsingu was handed over by the night of 30 January, troops would 'penetrate to every valley in Mpezeni's country and punish every village where opposition was encountered'. Manning

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[106] cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 475; Bradley, *Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 44-5.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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175 439 648 728 received defiant answers to his messages and on 31 January dispatched four columns each of about two hundred men to sweep the eastern portion of the country. On 3 February Nsingu was surrounded by troops and surrendered to them. Manning tried Nsingu by court martial for murder, instigating to murder and raiding in British territory. He was found guilty and shot on 4 February in the presence of all captured lieutenants. On 5 February another column visited the southern portion of the country. Manning left the country the next day. He recommended, possibly on Deare's advice, that Mpezeni should be allowed to return as chief.

Mpezeni voluntarily surrendered to Brake on 9 February and was told he would be allowed to resettle and that his people could reoccupy their villages. A great number of these must, however, have been burnt by the troops, for even on 23 January Brake had reported that in one district there was hardly a village or hut left standing. More villages had been destroyed by the columns sent out by Manning.[107]

After Mpezeni's surrender, Brake continued trying to capture other important people thought to have been supporters of Nsingu, but it seems no more villages were burnt. Some leaders went into hiding, other like Madzimawi fled west to Nsenga country, while Mlonyeni, head of segment 6, went to Mwambera's country in northern Nyasaland. Mpezeni had at first been instructed to live in a village near his former home at Cimpinga, but was later moved to an Ngoni village near Fort Manning, which Brake was then building just inside the Nyasaland border. After a year he was allowed to return to the centre of his country and was reinstated as chief. He died from natural causes soon afterwards on 21 September 1900.[108] The leaders who had fled drifted back and no further action was taken against them. Some people began to cultivate their gardens again and to make shelters.[109] Others, particularly Cewa who had been captured only a short while before 1898, left Ngoniland and either returned to their former tribal areas or moved on elsewhere.

175 439 648 Although fighting between Ngoni and British ceased, there was still some scrapping between the North Charterland and the

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[107] For the preceding paragraphs. see 176, fo. 372-4; 181; 184-90; 193-5; 198; *B.C.A.G.*, v, 1-3 (15 January, 5 and 26 February 1898), p. 1 of each issue; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 14-16, 71; Baxter, 'Angoni rebellion', p. 17 (map); Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May.

[108] *B.C.A.G.*, 118, vii, 9 (30 September 1900), p. 3. In view of this newspaper report the statement that Mpezeni died in October, made in *Reports on the Administration* 31 *March* 1902 and followed by Poole and others, must be wrong.

[109] 201; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 16; Duff, *Nyasaland*, p. 42; Stigand, 'Natives of Nyasaland', p. 126.

B.S.A. Company's administration which now began to operate in 175
Mpezeni's country itself. Each had its own African police force and 439
on one occasion two people who had been taken prisoner by the 648
Administration's police were released by a party of North Charterland police. The North Charterland police then arrested the Administration's police, and it was necessary for troops to come from Nyasaland to release them and arrest the North Charterland men.[110] By the end of 1899, however, conditions had become more settled. The B.S.A. Administration had acquired effective control over the whole of Mpezeni's country outside Nyasaland.

The military operations in December 1897 and in 1898 were carried out during the wet season and in consequence there was much sickness among the troops. Although it was not the time of year which the Europeans would have chosen for a campaign, according to one of my informants Warringham had been advised by an Ngoni man whose support he had gained that he should arrange for the war to take place while all the warriors were away from the immediate vicinity of Fort Young attending the national
first fruits ceremony at the headquarters of segment 4, the village [796]
of Zwangendaba's great wife. The descendants of this man are still regarded as traitors by other Ngoni. The first fruits ceremony was usually held about the new year, so that the war may in fact have followed immediately after the ceremony. This view is supported by the remark made by Harding, who arrived in Ngoniland a few months after the war was over. He said that the war 'arose over a highly strung official [presumably Warringham] mistaking an ordinary Native dance for an act of hostility towards the Administration'.[111] Whatever the truth in the matter, the first fruits ceremony would have been an appropriate time for Nsingu to call for an attack on the Whites.

7. *Cattle*

It has been estimated that before the war there were about 231
20,000 head of cattle in Mpezeni's country.[112] During the fighting
many were taken from Ngoni by Protectorate troops. These animals 648
became the subject of much recrimination. Read states that half 727
the cattle of the Ngoni were taken as 'rightful loot', while Poole 439
states that a large portion of the 14,000 head captured were ultimately restored to their Ngoni owners.[113]

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[110] 223, fo. 368.

[111] Harding, *Far Bugles*, p. 82.

[112] 230, p. 69 has 24,000, while *Report on the Administration*, 1903, p. 19, has 15,000-20,000.

[113] Read, 'Tradition', p. 478; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 16.

231 According to Manning, in his first report on the matter dated
727 17 February 1898, nearly 12,000 head were captured. It seems
648 clear that at the time Manning thought that the whole of this herd
439 would be used for the benefit of the B.S.A. Company, for he wrote:

> 'I have informed the British South Africa Company that we shall require them to pay the actual expenses incurred by us on account of the campaign. I do not imagine the total cost to the British South Africa Company will be more than 2,000*l*. This will be covered ten times over by the value of the cattle captured by the expedition, so that the British South Africa Company will reap a handsome profit on the campaign.'[114]

There seems, however, to have been considerable discussion among Europeans in the region about the disposal of the cattle. Roberts, a surgeon who had been one of Wiese's companions at Fort Young, was dismissed from the North Charterland shortly after the war ended. Wiese also left the country after the war and lost his North Charterland post worth £900 a year. Manning suggests that these two were anxious to make trouble by attacking the conduct of the war. St. Hill, the North Charterland manager, may have been anxious to forestall any accusations for on 23 April he published in a newspaper a statement admitting that there had been criticism on the capture of the cattle, but pointing out that 'Army regulations provide for a certain amount of loot'. He said that it had been a wonderfully cheap expedition, that the Protectorate men who went in certainly deserved something, and that he expected that the B.S.A. Company would return a very large number of cattle to the Natives.[115] Editorial comment on his article was nevertheless critical. Criticism began to be heard in Britain. A letter was written to the Parliamentary Secretary responsible, a question was asked in the Commons, and an article appeared in *Truth*. According to one account, the military officers said they expected £400 or £500 each from their share of the loot.[116] Whether or not he was influenced by this criticism, Sharpe on leave in England proposed on 12 May that half the captured herds be returned to the Ngoni, the other half to be retained by the B.S.A. Company.[117] On the same day the Foreign Office replied to Manning's dispatch of 17 February, quoted above, with the statement that the B.S.A. Company wanted only three hundred beasts. Manning was asked to

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[114] 195.

[115] *Central African Times*, i, 30 (23 April 1898), p. 3.

[116] 216, fo. 8; 217; *Parliamentary Debates, 4th series*, lv (1898), cols. 1240, 1654-5; *Truth*, xliii, 1122 (30 June 1898), pp. 1639-40.

[117] 202.

consider returning some of the remainder to the Ngoni.[118] Manning 251
replied that representatives of the B.S.A. Company had already 727
made arrangements for driving away five thousand cattle. He 648
proposed to return three thousand to Mpezeni.[119] 439

The subsequent course of events is not clear. Poole states that due to the opportune arrival and intervention of Selby, a member of the B.S.A. Company's Administration, a large proportion of the cattle were ultimately restored to their Ngoni owners. This is in accord with Sharpe's statement on 6 July that 'Mpezeni . . . has had all his cattle returned to him [his underlining]'. A missionary journal published in Blantyre on 15 July stated that probably a considerable part of the cattle had been returned.[120] Manning, who was in a better position to know than Sharpe, who was still on leave, wrote on 31 August that all the cattle had been returned to the Natives with the exception of about a thousand head handed over to the B.S.A. Company as a fine and about two hundred kept for the use of the troops.[121] The matter then seemed to have been settled.

In the next year the North Charterland continued its quarrel with the B.S.A. Company, and the disposal of the captured cattle was discussed again. The North Charterland complained that the whole Ngoni war had been unnecessary and had been provoked by the B.S.A. Company. There had been wholesale looting of cattle which had been disposed of in the interests of the officers concerned, Natives had been expelled from their lands, and in consequence the commercial prospects of the North Charterland had been ruined. The Foreign Office replied to these allegations on 23 August 1899, stating that so far as the cattle were concerned, five thousand head were to be driven out, three thousand returned to Mpezeni, and the balance held at the disposal of the B.S.A. Company, apart from two hundred and fifty head captured inside the Protectorate and driven off for use by the troops. This reply, referring to what would be done rather than what by then presumably had been done, appears to have been based on the arrangements proposed by Manning on 20 May 1898. Either the arrangements he reported on 31 August 1898 were never put into operation or else they were overlooked by mistake when the Foreign Office reply to the North Charterland was drafted a year later. The latter explanation seems more probable.[122]

[118] 203.

[119] 207.

[120] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 16; 211, fo. 228; *Life and Work in British Central Africa*, 125 (15 July 1898), p. 3.

[121] 219, fo. 456.

[122] 230; 233.

231 439 648 727 Manning stipulated that cattle handed back to the Ngoni should not be sold, to prevent traders bartering cattle for gunpowder.[183] Nevertheless the majority of the cattle remaining in or returned to Ngoni hands were sold within two years. In April 1898 over 14,000 head of cattle were counted.[184] Whether or not all these were in Ngoni ownership at the time is not clear, although the North Charterland implied in a letter written in 1899 that at least 12,000 belonged to Ngoni.[185] During the next year or so, in spite of Administrative opposition, many thousands of cattle were sold to traders or killed. By 31 March 1900 only 1,224 remained.[186] [177] Thus another of the systems of social relationships, those mediated through cattle, which had sustained the old social order, was undermined.

8. *The end of a system*

178 648 Thus ended the Ngoni war and with it the Ngoni State. In the last twelve years of its existence, from 1886 to 1898, three struggles were proceeding simultaneously in linked regions of social space. First there were the traditional processes already described by which Ngoni killed and recruited their neighbours and by which cleavages between segments of their residential system widened and altered with time. Second there was the struggle between Portugal, Great Britain and, peripherally, Germany for the political control of south-central Africa. Third there was a struggle between [439] different groups of financiers in London for the control of the rich economic resources which they believed, quite mistakenly as far as we can now tell, lay waiting to be discovered in Mpezeni's country and round about. Apart from these three major fields of activity, there were two others which affected this particular area to a lesser degree. There were the traders and adventurers like Wiese (until 1896), Matakenya and the Arabs who competed with one another and endeavoured to exploit the region in terms of ivory, gunpowder and slaves. There were also the various missions, [779] representing the interests of their co-religionists and anti-slavery enthusiasts in Europe, competing with each other and with the slave traders for local control. There was even a scheme for colonizing Mpezeni's country with Christian laymen from Britain.[187] All these social fields were interwoven in reality, but in analysis

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[183] 207; 208, fo. 15; 233.

[184] *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 65.

[185] 230, p. 69. Duff, *Nyasaland*, p. 393, implies that all the 14,000 belonged to Ngoni.

[186] *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 65.

[187] 87.

our task is to separate them out. Yet even in analysis we have to 178 show how each field interlocks with the other two, how events in 648 one field set up movements in others.

The material apparatus used in the various fields was distinct. The traditional processes were decided ultimately by resort to spears and shields. Portugal and Britain fought with artillery, embargoes, customs dues and treaties. The North Charterland 439 fought its rivals with concessions, certificates of claim and share 648 capital.[18] Mpezeni, who knew how to fight with spears, was asked to sign pieces of paper which would then be negotiable in a property system of which he knew nothing, and the manipulators of which knew little of him. The treaty-collectors imagined a patchwork of stationary chiefdoms spread over the region, each with a chief powerful enough to sell his country, whereas in fact there was only an unstable series of groups of shifting cultivators, each liable to attack from the migrating Ngoni.

Yet despite the differences in technique and despite the lack of knowledge of each other's systems of government, the various groups involved continued to pursue their own ends as best they could. Mpezeni may not have known what a flag was, yet the issue between Portugal and Britain was decided, and decided in Lisbon rather than in Ngoniland. The treaties may have been made beyond the competence, and the understanding, of the chiefs who signed them, and yet the B.S.A. Company did gain control of the country. Mpezeni never made his mark on a document, yet the North Charterland acquired its ten thousand square miles of land. On the other hand, the Ngoni regiments tried to win another battle [721] like the others they had won before, and this time they failed. In [669] consequence of the war of 1898 there was a revolution, a change of structural form, in Ngoni society, whereas in the histories of Portugal and Britain, and even of the B.S.A. Company, the event passed almost unnoticed.

In northern Nyasaland an analogous process of incorporation within a wider system was taking place. Here also there was an intruding European group and the same distant interest of the Nyasaland Administration. Yet in many ways the chain of events in northern Nyasaland was simpler than at Fort Jameson. In the [797] north, there was only one set of resident Whites, the Livingstonia missionaries, there was no Wiese willing to play for both sides at once, and there was no North Charterland. In consequence the

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[18] cf. Kuper, *African Aristocracy*, p. 24: 'Swazi were subjugated through concessions, a type of economic warfare eventually sanctioned by powerful European governments.'

439 648 relationship between Ngoni and Europeans was of a somewhat different kind, and one of its most interesting features was an attempt by the Ngoni, persisted in for many years, to establish a monopoly over the missionaries, at the expense of another tribe with whom they were at war.[129] In Fort Jameson the social field was more complex. One of Mpezeni's sons tried to sell ivory to Wiese illegally without his father's knowledge,[130] and we may look on this as an attempt to establish a relationship with him differentiated from the wider relationship between Wiese and the Ngoni as a whole, or perhaps as an attempt on Wiese's part to penetrate Ngoni society along its lines of structural cleavage. His and Deare's support for a candidate for the heirship was similar in intention. [661] Mpezeni's efforts to gain support from Kotakota against his people was a more noticeable attempt to utilize the power of the Whites in his own sectional interest. Similarly the readiness with which raided chiefs made treaties was certainly related to their weak position in relation to the Ngoni and their hope of support against them. Even with the traders, as distinct from the treaty-collectors, this consideration was relevant. Deare relates how he asked Mpezeni to prevent raiding near the North Charterland supply route which passed through Undi's country. When later he visited Undi, he was welcomed for stopping the raids and was given ivory. Thus although at Fort Jameson no one group had a monopoly of access to the Europeans, there were these attempts to establish specific relations with them to the advantage of the different groups concerned.

For as soon as two groups are brought into contact, and for [178] some reason neither group annihilates the other, there is a change in the structure of the social field in which they act. Life can no longer go on as before, for every man has new potential allies and new potential enemies. There is no established order to which appeal can be made, for a new order has to be created. A new set of alignments, a new social structure, emerges from the manoeuvring and intriguing of the transition period which must differ from the old because of the new interests and new relationships which it contains.

Thus Europeans discriminated between one African group and another. Similarly the Ngoni established different relations with different European groups. From the beginning it was clear that the Portuguese and the British were to be distinguished, and Mpezeni preferred the inaction of the former to the efficiency of

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[129] cf. Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, pp. 97, 129, 237 and 245.
[130] Wiese, 'Expedição', x, pp. 491-2.

439 648

the latter. This alignment established, it was natural that Warton, though not himself a party to the Imperial struggle, should utilize it by arriving in the country from Tete, in Portuguese territory, rather than from Nyasaland, that he should pose as Wiese's brother, and, assuming that the Foreign Office was correctly informed, that he should fly a Portuguese flag. Genthe played a similar game with his Union Jack, but in a different area among the raided tribes. Even among the British, Mpezeni had three groups to deal with, North Charterland, B.S.A. Company, and the Nyasaland Administration. He was initially friendly and later hostile towards the first, unyielding to the second, and appealed for help to the third, although, or perhaps because, it was farthest away.

439 578 648 668

The effective cleavage within the Ngoni chiefdom was between the chief and his eldest son. We might have expected the major cleavage to have been between one son and another, particularly in view of North Charterland support for one son rather than another. We have some information concerning who Wiese and Deare thought were their friends, but some of these people appear to have taken a prominent part in the fighting. Mpezeni was certainly not entirely deserted by his own people, for he was able to send emissaries to Kotakota and to warn Wiese and Deare of plots against their lives.[131] The situation in which one section of the population supported the chief and the remainder supported his son may have been facilitated by the existence of what we have called rump segments in the residential system. For in this system the dependants of a segment head were not completely divided up among his heirs; there was a remainder who even after the death of the head constituted a rump segment and represented his interests as against those of his sons. Thus it may be that Mpezeni was supported by those who remained in his great wife's village, or perhaps in his father's great wife's village, as against those who had broken out from it. In the absence of satisfactory evidence, our hypothesis remains unverified. Such evidence as there is, is contradictory. Deare made friends, eventually, with the two senior lieutenants of segment 10, the segment of Mpezeni's great wife; this would support our thesis, as does Wiese's mention of the senior of these as one of his friends. Yet both of them, according to my informants, descendants of these men, were shot in the course of the campaign; this points against our thesis. In the list of friends and enemies which Wiese and his companions gave Brake, segments 4 and 10 each have members in both lists. Among those listed as friends are Ciboma msitini, regional governor in segment 4 and

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[131] Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 186; 187, fo. 137; Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May.

439 578 648 668 Mcekwani mpanza (Chequani), a lieutenant of segment 10. Among the enemies are Ngoka Lukhezo zulu (Goka), a lieutenant of segment 4, and Kamzembe maiemesa (Camsembe), regional governor in segment 10.[182] The elucidation of this cleavage is further complicated by the fact that from 1889 until 1898 Mpezeni lived at least most of the time not with his great wife but with his favourite, the leader of the subsidiary bevy in segment 15.[183] He may have done this to place himself at a distance from Wiese, who had a store at the headquarters of segment 4, Mpezeni's father's great wife's village, and from the North Charterland, whose Fort Young was just outside the headquarters of segment 10, his own great wife's village. There is, however, no definite evidence for this.

Regarding the Europeans for the moment as external agents, we can see how inter-African relations were affected by them. Within the chiefdom the most striking phenomenon was the prohibition on raiding imposed by the Whites. It was this which appears to have accentuated the cleavage between Mpezeni and his sons and which may have given Nsingu an external object of attack formidable enough to unite him with his brothers. The Ngoni State was essentially a military one and each successive generation of leaders needed to glorify themselves in battle. Mpezeni at the end of his life, his battles over, could well favour [721] peace but his sons had still to demonstrate their valour and swell their segments with captives. The prohibition on raiding struck at [178] at the root of the State, socially as well as economically. External relations changed their content, and neighbouring chiefs were able to visit Ngoniland unmolested. A more significant change of relation was attempted when Chabisa tried to unite the Fort Jameson and northern Nyasaland groups of Ngoni against the Europeans. Chabisa failed, but even so Ngoni re-established contact with the Ndebele after a lapse of some sixty-five years as the direct result of European action.

In all this the Arabs played only a minor part. Some Arabs 439 traded with Mpezeni for slaves, and Ngoni used sometimes to raid 648 Arab caravans. This we know from Deare, who saw an Arab with 567 Mpezeni and to whom Nsingu related the story of a successful attack on a caravan. Deare mentions that this Arab tried to influence Mpezeni against him.[184] Apart from this, there is little information on their dealings with this group of Ngoni. The main struggle between Administration and Arabs was fought out at

[182] 187, fo. 137. cf. Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 20.
[183] Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', p. 79.
[184] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April and 4 May.

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Karonga in 1895 and although slave trading went on through 439
Portuguese territory even after 1900, Arabs never made any effort 648
to maintain this trade in the Fort Jameson area. [567]

When Wiese left the country in 1898 his work was done. His departure symbolized the end of the pioneering stage of colonialism and the beginning of the stage of settled paternal administration. Mpezeni was reinstated after the war, but there was no position into which Wiese could have been reinstated, nor anyone who wanted to reinstate him. Unlike Mpezeni, Wiese did not represent the long-term interests of any powerful group. In the history of empires there are many examples of men like Wiese who succeeded in weathering the transition from one phase to another and ended their lives in honour and glory. But Wiese had sold his assets before the war began. When it was over, his one saleable attribute, his friendship with Mpezeni, had been compromised and was no longer of value. He departed from a scene which had no place for him.

An examination of how the Imperial and the financial struggles 439
were inter-connected would take us beyond the bounds of Ngoni-
land and of our subject. We have, however, shown that the three 464
social fields were inter-connected, and that moves in one field were 648
affected by and in turn inspired moves in another. It is important to realize that this inter-connection was not due merely to geographical accident. From one point of view it was accidental that Ngoniland should lie near so many frontiers and that there should be an ancient gold-mine in the vicinity. But Britain, the North Charterland, and Nsingu were all struggling partly for the same thing, control of the Ngoni people. Even Warton understood this. At the end of 1896 he was asked: 'The Natives, I understand, are friendly?' He replied: 'I am glad to say that, so far, we have succeeded in establishing most friendly relations with M'Pesene. . . . Fighting would not only be costly, but we should lose our labourers if we engaged in hostilities. So you see on selfish, as well as humanitarian grounds, we have every reason to avoid warfare and bloodshed.'[128] The mineral resources of Mpezeni's country may have been largely illusory but the human resources were real. Ngoni men could fight for slaves, for dependants, for cattle and for glory; they could carry loads from Tete and prepare to work in the North Charterland's mines; or they could migrate to Southern Rhodesia to work there: but they could not do all these things simultaneously. The fight to destroy the Ngoni army was as much one to secure a labour supply for European capital investment as it was to secure

[128] *African Review*, x, 216 (9 January 1897), p. 67.

439 464 648 law and order. In this, not only the Ngoni were concerned. There was a shortage of labour in Nyasaland and Mpezeni's raids prevented labourers reaching that country from the interior. The campaign against Mwase in 1895 was undertaken partly with the aim of opening up labour routes and Mpezeni's defeat carried this a stage further. The Collector at Kotakota wrote shortly after the war: 'It is quite safe to say that no greater assistance has been given to these districts (and in fact to the Protectorate) than this opening up of the Luapula Valley by the conquest of Mpezeni.'[126] Yet the Luapula is 350 miles from Fort Jameson. Even Ngoni technical skill in fighting was of value to the new conquerors, for within six [167] months of the war Ngoni fighting men were in Southern Rhodesia, not as allies of the Ndebele but as part of the British South Africa Police. Within ten months, the headquarters of segment 13 had been moved to make way for the new Administrative capital. With the defeat of Mpezeni, North-Eastern Rhodesia became a country.

178 361 648 A final point requires explication. Granted that the Ngoni social system had to change in this new complex social environment, and granted also that their activities, in particular raiding, had to be adapted to new demands on their labour, why did not the Ngoni continue to live in large villages as they had done hitherto? There are numerous analogies in Africa where segmentary social systems have been fitted into an Administrative framework, and where raiding has given way to migrant labour, and yet the pattern of settlement has remained the same. Why did the big Ngoni villages disappear after 1898?

Part of the answer to this question can be stated in ecological terms. In pre-conquest times, the dense population, human and bovine, the great stretches of cultivated land, and the manifest prosperity of the people impressed themselves vividly on contemporary observers accustomed to the scattered settlements of the surrounding tribes. Angus writes:

> 'Before us lay an undulating valley some miles in breadth, which, as the heavily timbered hills on either side proclaimed, had once been covered with forest, but was now denuded of every vestige of a tree. Village after village surrounded by waving cornfields, and green plains dotted with herds of cattle, stretched away into the distance. Never before in any of my African wanderings had I seen such an extent of land under cultivation; the cornfields seemed unending, and the size and number of the

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[126] *B.C.A.G.*, v, 6 (30 April 1898), p. 4.

villages fairly astonished me; and it was not till then that I 178
realized what a powerful and prosperous people were those whose 361
acquaintance I was about to make.'[137] 648

We may compare this description of conditions in 1896 with that given by Trapnell for the same area in 1938.

> '. . . Reserve II presents an example of combined cutting-
> out, soil-deterioration and erosion which probably has no equal [34]
> in the Territory. . . . Cattle are most numerous in this reserve, [311]
> and . . . their added burden on the land has doubtless helped to
> weigh the scales to the point of erosion. With cattle and an [231]
> excessive population in Mpezeni's and Maguya's country, surface compaction and deterioration of soil have come to give place to wholesale wash, and denuded belts of resting land are now to be seen seared by dongas fully ten feet deep. The enormous gullied scars down the face of Nyamfinsi and neighbouring hills provide notable examples of the effects of millet cultivation on impossible slopes.'[138]

The devastation described by Trapnell has come about in part on account of the alienation of land to Whites, but it is also due to the
transition which the Ngoni have been forced to make from living as [241]
migrant brigands to working as subsistence cultivators and migrant
labourers. Even without alienation, it is likely that the large [177]
villages would have disappeared.

The population of the tribe immediately prior to the conquest 161
was estimated by Deare to be 40,000 and possibly more. Johnston, in his highly ambitious population density map, appears to have assumed a population of about 50,000, while an official estimate in
1898 was nearly 150,000.[139] The area of Mpezeni's country was
estimated by Angus to be about 400 square miles. He also delimits [131]
an area of about 2,700 square miles which he describes as 'Angoniland proper', but it is clear that this large area includes much waterless uninhabited country. Johnston implies, on his map, an
inhabited area of 3,200 square miles, but again there is clear evidence [311]
that in fact much of this was uninhabited. In 1903 it was estimated that the area within which the Ngoni kept their cattle before the conquest was about 600 square miles.[140] Angus's lower estimate is in accord with the distances between villages given by travellers

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[137] Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', p. 78.

[138] Trapnell, *Ecological Survey*, pp. 67, 71.

[139] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May; *A & P*, 1894, lvii, p. 769; *B.C.A.G.*, v, 3 (26 February 1898), p. 1.

[140] Angus, 'Northern Angoliland', pp. 74, 78; *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 11 (1 June 1896), p. 1; *Reports on the Administration*, 1903, p. 19.

161 such as Sharpe, Thomson and Deare, and with my own information
based on village histories. Combining this with the lowest estimate
of population, we arrive at a population density of 100 persons to
the square mile, while the highest estimate implies a density of 375.
Highly unreliable as these figures are, it is clear that the density of
population was considerably greater before the conquest than it is
now, when it averages about 68 persons to the square mile. Even
the present-day figure is nearly three times the density which the
land can sustain in perpetuity.

This dense population was concentrated in large villages.
361 Angus estimated that there were at least a thousand huts in Loan-
162 geni, while Deare estimated that there were sixteen hundred.
Read states that it was over three miles across, while Genthe says
that Ngoni villages were about five times the size of the average Cewa
village. From the top of a mountain, Deare saw eleven villages all
about the same size as Loangeni.[141] Thus it seems that there were
several villages with populations of the order of three thousand. If
Deare and Johnston are right in their estimates of tribal population
the majority of the people lived in these big villages.

Yet by September 1898 the only villages left in Mpezeni's country were a few to the east of Fort Young. All the rest had been destroyed by troops, and their former inhabitants were said to be 'still timid' and living in scattered groups in grass shelters.[142] The large pre-conquest settlements were particularly vulnerable to attack by troops armed with guns and intent on burning, the more so because there were no defensive preparations at all. Glave wrote in 1894 that the Ngoni 'have no stockaded village, such protection they deem unnecessary as no enemy can be strong enough to attack them'.[143]

The large villages and the high density of population were
appropriate only to a victorious military society, relying for at least
part of its subsistence on raided crops and beasts produced outside
its borders and for the rest on the maximum exploitation of the land
[727] inside them. When its enemies had been plundered and its own
[167] lands exhausted, it moved on. We can infer from Angus and from
Sharpe, who wrote of 'entirely open' country,[144] that within the
178 settled area most of the cultivable land was in use at the same time.
311 Yet in many parts of the Fort Jameson area the soil is now exhausted
after five years under maize and must be left for twenty-five years

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[141] Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', p. 78; Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April and 11 May; Read, 'Tradition', p. 475, f.n. 2; Genthe, 'Mpezeni's', p. 1.

[142] Selby, memorandum dated 10 March 1901.

[143] 86, fo. 329.

[144] Sharpe, 'Lake Nyasa', p. 745. For Angus, see pp. 102*f*.

to recover under bush fallow. The long-term carrying capacity of 178
the land before the conquest cannot have been much greater than 311
its present average value of 25 persons to the square mile.[145] Thus [161]
it is certain that in pre-conquest times the Ngoni were settled at a
density even more in excess of the critical value than it is now,
despite alienation. There cannot have been much cultivable land
in reserve and the State was exhausting the wealth of its own soil
as well as drawing on the resources of its neighbours. Thus even
if the large villages had not been burnt, the same number of people
could not for long have continued to live in them practising subsistence
agriculture. A reduction in the density of population necessarily 161
involved under this economy a reduction in the size of
villages, for Ngoni do not like to live more than an hour's walk 167
from their gardens. As it was, the villages were burnt, many Ngoni 178
of Cewa origin left Ngoniland, and much of the more densely
settled land, carrying up to 140 persons to the square mile, was
alienated to Europeans within six years of the war.[146] The arrangement
of persons over the land and the activities they carried on
were both dramatically altered by the European conquest. It is,
therefore, not surprising that the old society was so drastically
changed at the same time. What is perhaps surprising is the extent
to which, as we shall see, the forms of grouping of the past have
influenced the forms of the new society.

In brief, the old political system was a system of segments, the 631
new one is a system of villages and counties. The county segment
links the two systems, but there is no function in the new order for 177
segments embracing several counties or for those that embrace only
part of a county. Within the village, the segmentary processes still
go on, but at this level of organization we are dealing with kinship
rather than politics. When a segment grows beyond the bounds of
a single village, it begins to fade away, and we are left with a network
of ties which link villages with one another but which do not
define mutually exclusive groups as existed in pre-conquest times.
The uncertainty about how counties should be divided internally
is an indication of the lack of function of these intermediate segments.
For some purposes, such as the organization of royal hunts, [224]
a county is divided into a number of rural districts. These are
geographically defined areas, and it is sometimes possible to say
that such-and-such a man, usually a senior lieutenant of the county
segment, is the most important person in such-and-such a rural
area. However, the recognizable rural districts in a county do not

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[145] Allan, *Land Usage*, pp. 16-17.

[146] *N.E.R.G.G.*, ii, 2 (15 March 1904), p. 34.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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63/177 always exhaust its total area and districts sometimes overlap. When I inquired of chiefs and their councillors how their counties were subdivided in terms of allegiance, rather than area, I was rarely given a clear answer. The names of various men of importance in the county were mentioned, but there was no consensus about their relative status or the limits of their territories. In the present [622] system village headmen have definite responsibilities and so have county chiefs, but there are no intermediate posts. Segments have given way to counties and villages.

Chapter Four

TRANSITION

1. Administrative policy 2. White control 3. Chiefs 4. County segments 5. Relative status of chiefs 6. Counties as territorial units 7. Villages

1. *Administrative policy*

THE DEFEAT of the Fort Jameson Ngoni in 1898 was followed by 177
the establishment of an Administration under the British South 439
Africa Company. The greater part of the Nyasaland troops who
had done the fighting left the area in April 1898[1] but the North 648
Charterland party remained at their old headquarters at Fort
Young, the B.S.A. Company made a base at Fort Patrick a few
miles away, and in Nyasaland the Protectorate Administration
maintained a station at Fort Manning. The new township of Fort
Jameson was established in October 1898[2] and the first mission [797]
station was opened by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission at
Magwero in 1899, in response to a request for a mission made the
previous year by Mpezeni.[3] From these bases, White administrators,
traders and missionaries, aided by their Black assistants, began to
alter the form of Ngoni life. We are here particularly concerned
with political organization, and it was the Administration which was
particularly influential in determining what form the new Ngoni
political organization would take. But political systems do not
exist in isolation, and the kinds of political relationship which we
find existing to-day have been influenced by the changing economic,
commercial and religious relationships which have been determined
more specifically by traders, labour recruiters, planters and
missionaries as well as by the exertions of administrators.

The Administration of North-Eastern Rhodesia was in the 439
hands of the B.S.A. Company, and the policy adopted was to some
extent influenced by developments in other territories adminis- 648
tered by the Company. Southern Rhodesia was much more
accessible from the sea than North-Eastern Rhodesia, more capital
had been invested in it, and its mineral wealth appeared to be
considerably greater. North-Eastern Rhodesia was therefore [464]

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[1] 210, fo. 67.
[2] *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 71.
[3] Bruwer, *Mbiri*, p. 22.

439 regarded as a territory which would supply Native labour and,
648 possibly, cattle to the south. Little attempt was made to develop
[464] the resources of the territory itself, and indeed in so far as Mpezeni's
country was concerned, the B.S.A. Company had ceded its rights
to do so to the North Charterland. The general pattern of White-Black
participation in economic activity was taken over from South
Africa, whence many of the early settlers came, and there was no
attempt to train a Black *élite* to perform skilled tasks. Apart from
the Ngoni and the Bemba, the Black population of North-Eastern
Rhodesia had been taken under the administration of the B.S.A.
Company without serious fighting and their chiefs did not have the
opportunity to become leaders of opposition against the Whites.
The Administration wished to keep its expenses low and found that
[643] the cheapest way of running the country was through the
indigenous chiefs and headmen. Hence a system of administration
[622] grew up which was in many respects similar to that later known as
Indirect Rule.[4] Chiefs and village headmen were placed under a
statutory obligation to preserve law and order among their people.
Some of them were paid a few shillings a year for their labours and
were given ceremonial spears of office. There were no formally
constituted Native courts, as there are now, but minor cases of all
[692] kinds were heard by indigenous tribunals, and the authority of
these tribunals appears to have been upheld by the Administration
in so far as their judgments were regarded as maintaining law and
order. Indeed on occasion the Administration indicated to chiefs
what kinds of cases they should deal with and what should be
referred to the Administration. The collection of tax, one of the
[651] most important activities of the early administrators, was carried
out with the assistance, or the enforced co-operation, of the Black
[464] leaders. Labour recruiters appear to have operated in much the
same kind of way. Thus the commoner in his village found that to
a considerable extent access for him to these new White agencies
was along the traditional chain of authority through headman and
chief. The missions were to a greater extent concerned with
[797] establishing relationships with individuals without reference to
their position in indigenous society, but even they tried occasionally
to work through chiefs and other notables. Thus despite the
changed situation, the indigenous order was utilized by the White
invaders and in so far as that order was useful to them they
endeavoured to uphold it.

177
464 Nevertheless, the encouragement given by the Administration
439 to recruiters of labour from the south, and the economic necessity
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[4] cf. Hailey, *African Survey*, pp. 452-3.

of earning money to pay tax, together with such subsidiary measures 177
as the prohibition of Native smelting, and the pressure on men to 439
clothe themselves in imported clothing, ensured that the old order 464
changed beyond the mere loss of sovereignty. Not only were links 648
established with Southern Rhodesia and later with other parts of
Africa, but new patterns of distribution of wealth and power were
set up which were incompatible with the old order. The chief who
stayed at home ruling his people found himself outclassed by the [556]
newly returned labourers from the south, with their display of
clothes, money and urban mannerisms. The relationships between
one tribe and another which formerly had found expression in
fighting had now to find other expressions, and began to be based
on different interests.

These general considerations applied throughout North- 439
Eastern Rhodesia. In Ngoniland local variation was supplied more
by the presence of the North Charterland than by the fact that the 648
Ngoni had been defeated in war. The North Charterland was
interested in the economic development of its concession, whereas
the Administration had to consider the needs of other territories
governed by the B.S.A. Company, particularly Southern Rhodesia.
The same administrative policy was applied to the Ngoni as to
neighbouring tribes which had not been conquered by force of
arms. Nevertheless in Ngoni eyes the Administration discriminated [186]
against Ngoni in favour of Cewa. Many Cewa who had been
captured shortly before 1898 moved away from Ngoniland after
the war, or at least moved in the direction of their homeland. With
the end of Ngoni raiding the no-man's-land round Ngoni country
filled up again with Cewa who had been displaced when the Ngoni
first arrived in the 1870s. Cewa chiefdoms were re-established
and recognized by the Administration, to the chagrin of the
Ngoni.

Even the Ngoni themselves were referred to by the Administra- 648
tion as the 'Angoni-Chewa' by way of emphasizing their mixed
ethnic composition. When the Native Reserve scheme was put for-
ward in 1913 the Ngoni chiefs objected to the Cewa being allotted
land of their own, and suggested that all the tribes of the district
should be placed in one reserve under Mpezeni II. The Adminis-
tration did not agree. When villages were moved into the proposed
reserves in the 1920s, a few more villages left Ngoniland for Cewa [167]
country. At the same time other villages moved into Ngoniland from
other chiefdoms in the face of alienation of land or difficulties with
the Portuguese Administration. Thus to-day many villages in Ngoni-
land are of Cewa origin and many villages in Cewa chiefdoms are of
Ngoni origin.

648 Ngoni origin. The sharp cleavage between the Ngoni and their
neighbours has gone.

Another relic of the privileged position enjoyed by the Ngoni
439 before the conquest which did not long survive their defeat was
648 the subsidy paid to Mpezeni. Under the terms of Wiese's alleged
651 concession of 14 April 1891, Mpezeni was to be paid £200 a year
and one per cent of Wiese's profits. Wiese made presents to
Mpezeni, but there is no record of any substantial payment. When
the provisional grant of 10,000 square miles of land was made by
the B.S.A. Company to the Mozambique Company on 8 May 1895,
the latter agreed not to exercise any rights it might have under
Wiese's concessions, but there was no mention of the disposal of
any possible obligations. Warton continued Wiese's practice of
giving presents to Mpezeni, but there was no regular payment. As
Wiese's concession had never been recognized it would seem that
there was no legal obligation on either the North Charterland or the
B.S.A. Company to pay an annual subsidy. Nevertheless after the
Ngoni war the two companies must have come to some agreement
on the matter. In April 1898, according to the answer to a question
in the Commons, the B.S.A. Company were ready to pay Mpezeni
£200 a year 'for the present'. In January 1900 the Administrator
stated that the Collector at Fort Jameson had spent only £50 during
the current financial year on payments to Mpezeni and 'his loyal
indunas'. He proposed to spend a further £50 during the year and
the remaining £100 of the subsidy was to be distributed among the
surrounding tribes in the interests of the North Charterland.[5]
These special arrangements were presumably superseded in 1903
when, under the scheme of Native Administration drawn up in that
year, provision was made for the payment of all recognized chiefs
from the general funds of the Territory.

Similarly, the military organization of the Ngoni broke down
648 after the conquest. One of the first acts of the Administration was
701 to forbid Ngoni to carry weapons of war.[6] Four new age-set
561 regiments were formed between 1898 and 1914 but they were little
more than dancing societies, singing the old songs which had
excited their seniors in the 'time of peace' before the conquest but
unable to emulate their military achievements. During the 1914-18
war the majority of young Ngoni men who might have formed a
[464] new age-set were enrolled as carriers and soldiers on the Allied side.

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[5] *Parliamentary Debates, 4th Series*, lv (1898), cols. 1654-5; report of a meeting between Administrator and North Charterland manager, 15 January 1900 (Lusaka archives); cf. Poole, MS., 'Tribes of East Luangwa Province'.

[6] Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 201.

After the war an age-set was formed but its activities conflicted 561
with the demands of the churches and schools and it was not a 701
success. No further attempts have been made to carry on the 648
system. Ngoni now say, 'What need have we of regiments now that there are no other tribes for us to fight?'

2. *White control*

Apart from the squabble over cattle, the surrender of Mpezeni 648
on 9 February 1898 marked the end of the Ngoni war. The Nyasa- 727
land troops did not pursue the leaders who fled, although Brake moved Mpezeni to the vicinity of Fort Manning. In May he wrote, perhaps over-optimistically, that in the central part of Ngoniland rebuilding had begun.[7]

It is clear that at first the Ngoni acquiesced in their defeat. 648
Whereas prior to the war Whites had lived in their country on sufferance, now their right to be there was not challenged. Only a [464]
few months after the war Harding arrived, recruiting police for service in Southern Rhodesia. He was received in a 'most friendly manner by the chief in charge who gave an ocular demonstration of his loyalty by voluntarily and immediately handing over to my charge 200 of his young men for my newly formed Police Force...'.[8]
After the death of Mpezeni I, his lieutenants waited the traditional 643
period of a year. Mpezeni's heir Nsingu and his wife Mkucwa had 648
both been shot during the war, and in September 1901 the lieutenants petitioned the Administration to appoint their eldest son, Ciloa, aged about 10 years, as chief. On 23 July 1903 the Native Commissioner held a meeting at which Madzimawi, son of Mpezeni I in the residue of segment 4, asked to be allowed to take the name Zwangendaba.[9] Thus even at that early date the over-riding authority of the Administration was acknowledged in matters concerning the chieftainship.

The establishment of an Administration based on Fort Jameson 648
in 1898 was governed, in so far as the British legal system was concerned, by the legislation consolidated in the Foreign Jurisdiction Act 1890.[10] Relations between the Administration and its African subjects were controlled by the Africa Order in Council 1889.[11] This was superseded by later Orders in 1900, 1911 and 1924,[12] marking the delimitation of North-Eastern Rhodesia as a separate

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[7] 198; 201, fo. 69.

[8] Harding, *Far Bugles*, p. 82.

[9] *Reports on the Administration*, 1900-2, p. 408; see pp. 1390f.

[10] 53 & 54 Vict., c. 37.

[11] *S.R. & O.*, Rev., 1890, iii, pp. 259-332.

[12] *S.R. & O.*, 89 of 1900, 438 of 1911 and 324 of 1924.

648 territory, its amalgamation with North-Western Rhodesia, and the transfer of responsibility from the British South Africa Company to the Colonial Office. Statutory instruments issued under these and later Orders have provided legal backing for successive schemes of African Administration.

In 1900 the Fort Jameson Division, containing the country occupied by the Ngoni, Kunda and part of the Cewa tribes, was established as part of the East Luangwa District, stretching from the Nyasaland border to the River Luangwa. The names of these areas were later changed to Fort Jameson District and Eastern Province respectively, and there have been numerous changes in their boundaries during the last fifty years, though none of them have affected the Ngoni. To avoid confusion, we shall use the term District only in its modern usage. In charge of the African population of the District was a Native Commissioner responsible to a Magistrate, posts corresponding roughly to the modern District Commissioner and Provincial Commissioner. The Native Commissioner, with his assistants who were Whites, had a force of Native
[202] messengers (otherwise known as boma messengers) attached to his
office to convey instructions to the people of the District and to
report irregularities to him. The Administrator, head of the
Administration, appointed chiefs in charge of tribal districts
[622] (smaller than the Administrative Districts already mentioned), and
under them were district headmen appointed by the Secretary for
Native Affairs. There were also district messengers who lived in
[624] their villages, but assisted the Native Commissioner when he toured
in their vicinity.

This scheme was regularized by the issue of the Native Commissioners' Regulations of 12 December 1908, made under King's Regulations of the same date. Minor amendments were introduced in 1913 and 1915, and a consolidating Proclamation was issued in 1916. This again was amended slightly in 1919.[13] The substance of the scheme was not altered until the enactment in 1929 of the Native Authorities Ordinance. A more comprehensive Ordinance, with provision for Native Treasuries, replaced this in 1936.[14]

The initiative in setting up, maintaining and modifying the system of administration lay with the Whites, not with the Ngoni, who indeed were only one tribe among many to whom the system applied. Yet the Administration endeavoured to enlist the support of chiefs and others who for the most part were persons of high status in their tribes. As early as 1905, the Administrator wrote of an effort to induce them to co-operate actively with the government, 648 and by 1910 he was looking forward to reducing the number of White officials in the Administration by devolving much of the Native work on to the Natives themselves. Co-operation was encouraged by the payment of small stipends to chiefs and others, varying in the 1920s in annual value from £22 10*s.* 0*d.* for Mpezeni down to 6*s.* for district messengers.

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[13] Proclamations No. 3 of 1913, 11 of 1915, 8 of 1916, and 6 of 1919.
[14] Ordinances No. 32 of 1929, 9 of 1936.

The Ngoni for the most part neither supported nor opposed this scheme of administration; they merely accepted it. For years the Administration bemoaned the indifference of the Ngoni, but apart from an attempt by a mission to set up its teachers as headmen, [797] there was little attempt to obstruct the work of the Administration.

In matters of land, the authority of the Whites was also dominant, but here the paternal amiability which characterized 423 purely political relations between Administration and Ngoni was 439 lacking. The alienation of land was at the instigation of the North 648 Charterland, who considered themselves the owners of Ngoni 311 country. Fort Jameson was built by the Administration in the middle of Ngoni country and the land round the township, few facilities though the town then had, became more valuable to potential settlers than more fertile but inaccessible tracts. The high density of population in Ngoni country also attracted settlers with [167] the prospect of an adequate labour supply. Thus we find that many of the first tracts of land alienated were located in the middle of Ngoni country, in the most densely populated section. As early as 1 January 1904 the first Commission was appointed to inquire into land questions in Ngoni country.[15] Now that Ngoni had to grow their own food on land which had already been heavily exploited the density of population fell; but in relation to the carrying capacity of the land in perpetuity there was still serious overcrowding. During the unsettled period of the war and its aftermath, the population was dispersed, but from 1900 down to about 361 1930, in consequence of alienation and the formation of reserves, 648 villages were gradually brought closer together. From 1930 onwards, with the recognition of land shortage by the Administration, villages have been allowed to spread out again. The negotiations concerning where the Ngoni should live have been protracted and complicated; I hope to discuss them in a later work in connexion with the economic background of Ngoni social life. What is here significant about them is that to a very large extent these negotiations have been carried on entirely by Whites, with the Administration representing for the greater part Ngoni

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[15] *N.E.R.G.G.*, ii, 1 (1 January 1904), pp. 30-1.

361 interests and those of neighbouring tribes against the North Charter-
648 land and the White settlers. Ngoni themselves have not been in a
position to enforce their own point of view.

In the operation of the legal system White control has never
648 been so complete, as we have indicated above. However the
692 support given to the judgments of chiefs and others by the Administration prior to 1929 was political rather than legal, and the courts held by chiefs with or without the approval of the Administration did not form part of the same legal system as the Administration's own courts. In that year Native Courts with defined powers were established as part of the same legal system as other recognized courts in the British Empire, with ultimate connexion to the Privy Council.[16] In matters of religion White dominance has been achieved more slowly and has never been complete. But even in
[797] this field the religions brought by the Whites have triumphed over
[769] the cult of the chief's ancestors and to-day it is the Christians who
are the ritual experts.

A parallel sequence of events has taken place in Nyasaland, save that there the amount of land alienated in the Fort Manning area has been small. A scheme of administration was given a legal basis in 1912, and was similar to that in Northern Rhodesia. It was revised in 1924, and in 1933 Native Authorities and Native Courts were set up.[17] The two principal missions in Fort Jameson District
[797] have stations in Nyasaland as well.

In both countries Ngoni have been required to pay tax. A
651 hut tax was introduced on the Rhodesian side of the border in 1901
648 and at about the same time in Nyasaland. The annual rate has
varied in Fort Jameson District from three to ten shillings. The imposition of tax has been of importance, not only in partly meeting the costs of Administration, but also in bringing Ngoni men and women into the wider economic system of farms, mines and offices of southern Africa.

Thus the Whites established control over the Ngoni in most
177 of their important external relations. Politics, settlement, litigation,
648 religion and economic activity have all been moulded by the
Whites. In many respects this has been a passive process, for little that the Ngoni have done or not done has been significant to the decision to set up Native Courts, or to expand the production of tobacco, or even to open up a mission of some new denomination.

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[16] By Ordinance No. 33 of 1929. Subsequent legislation is contained in Ordinances No. 10 of 1936, 18 of 1940, and 21 of 1942.

[17] Legislation is to be found in Ordinances No. 13 of 1912, 11 of 1924, 13 of 1933 and 14 of 1933.

These decisions have been taken within frames of reference beyond 177
the reach of our analysis and beyond the reach of Ngoni persuasion. 648
We are here concerned with the way in which Ngoni society has been adapted and has adapted itself to these diverse intrusions from outside.

3. *Chiefs*

In the old residential system there was no definite category of 622
persons whom we regard as chiefs. In the literature the lords of 631
major segments are sometimes called chiefs, sometimes indunas 643
(i.e. lieutenants), but it is clear that the importance of any parti- 648
cular segment varied from one time and situation to another, and
that the only constant relations between positions in the social [621]
structure were vertical ones, between lord and dependant, and not horizontal, between persons at the same level in the hierarchy but in different parts of it. The administrative scheme introduced by the Whites provided for horizontal categorization as well as vertical grouping. There were to be a definite number of chiefs, district headmen, and later village headmen, whose names would appear on the Administration's files. The only indigenous categories of this kind were those of Paramount Chief and regional governor, and for this reason alone it was inevitable that the relationship between the old and new systems should be complex. Although the young Mpezeni II was not the only person to be called chief, his superior status was always recognized and later received formal ratification in the qualification Paramount. The regional governors may, perhaps, have formed a category of persons at the same level in the old hierarchy, but they were not very numerous, perhaps only a dozen in number, and under the new dispensation some managed to become chiefs or district headmen, while others failed to do so. Village headmen in the old system were lords of segments of many different orders of segmentation and of varying importance. If the large pre-conquest villages had continued, then perhaps their heads might have secured Administrative recognition. As it was, post-conquest settlements were all much smaller and there were more of them.

Apart from these formal considerations, the peculiar circum- 648
stances of the war introduced distortion. Some important people 567
were killed in the fighting, others ran away, and the followers of others were scattered. More significantly, the arrival of the Administration, of traders and missions, provided means whereby people whose segments were of minor importance could advance themselves politically and gain control of large sections of the population.

557 This process was facilitated by the actions of some heads of major 648 segments. It had always been correct procedure for one important person to deal with another through intermediaries, at least in the [624] opening stages of negotiation, so that lieutenants and others were frequently sent as ambassadors for their lords to the headquarters of other major segments. There was particular point in adopting this procedure in dealing with the Administration since its demands on a man sent to it were unpredictable and apt to be onerous. Thus in many instances a lieutenant or other dependant was presented to the Administration as the headman of an area or a group of villages. This nominee was regarded by the Administration as the rightful leader of the area concerned, a belief often fostered by the nominee himself. In this way effective control of an area passed from the head of a segment to one of his dependants.

Unfortunately, few records of the early administrative arrange- 648 ments have survived. From 1883, when a British consul was first 114 appointed to Nyasaland, down to the defeat of the Ngoni in 1898, the doings of the tribe were of political significance to Britain, and were reported on at length in dispatches which are now public records. After 1898, events of similar importance within the tribe to those that had been reported earlier, the death of this lieutenant or the movement of that village from one site to another, were no longer of any interest to Whitehall or even to the Directors of the British South Africa Company. Thus there was a drastic reduction in the scale of reporting. At the same time the loss of sovereignty, of independent action, involved a reduction in the kind of events which were likely to be recorded. The Ngoni no longer made war or sold slaves. They did pay tax and work in the mines, but this they did not as an independent tribe but as part of Fort Jameson District and the Eastern Province, and such records as there are relate to these administrative units rather than to specific tribes. The B.S.A. [439] Company lacked the long tradition of administration enjoyed by the Foreign Office and Colonial Office, and its reports were scanty by comparison. Thus the only published report of any kind on affairs in North-Eastern Rhodesia for the year 1905-6 is a mere fifteen lines long, and there is only one sentence on African administration: 'The conduct of the Natives has continued to be satisfactory.'[18] It is not until 1928 that annual reports on African affairs began to be published. Our account of Ngoni history from 1898 until recent times therefore cannot be as complete as we would wish.

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[18] *Directors' Report and Accounts*, 1906, p. 7.

According to Coxhead, an Administrative Officer who pub- 648
lished in 1914, there were at that time six minor chiefs under the 648
Paramount. Four of these minor chiefs were sons of Mpezeni I.[10] 622
Other Administrative records of the same period refer to ten 'sub- 634
divisions'. The Paramount Chief and the chiefs now in charge of 643
counties 4, 14, 15 and 17 are each described as the 'important chief' in their subdivisions. The important chief in another subdivision is now not a county chief. The remaining four subdivisions had two chiefs each. Five of these are now county chiefs, one is a Cewa chief, and the remaining two are no longer chiefs. The title 'chief' was, however, not applied consistently by the Administration at that time and men who are called chiefs in some documents are called divisional or group headmen in others. In 1920, with the appointment of two new divisional headmen all Ngoniland villages in Northern Rhodesia were divided between ten rulers, not all of whom were called chiefs. Mpezeni II was ruler of one group of villages and Paramount over all ten, and the other nine rulers were the predecessors of the present minor chiefs. These ten groups of villages, and the two corresponding groups in Nyasaland, I have called *counties*. With one exception, each successive county chief has taken the name of his predecessor and this name is often used as the name of the county.

4. *County segments*

In each county there is one village known as the important 632
village or capital. Many, but not all, of the villages in a county 634
belong to the residential segment of which the capital is the headquarters. Thus we may speak of a county segment which forms, as it were, the core of the county. The villages that do not belong to the county segment fall into three main types. There are villages belonging to other segments under Mpezeni, there are a few which trace their origin to other Ngoni groups, and there are those which have entered Ngoniland after 1898 and so never formed part of the segmentary residential system. Most villages of the last type have come into Ngoniland from Cewa chiefdoms and some of them claim to have been settled in Ngoniland before the arrival of Mpezeni and to have been driven out by him. An indication of the distribution of villages in Northern Rhodesia counties among these different types is given in Table IV, where the only three counties for which I have the information are examined from this point of view.

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[10] Coxhead, *Native Tribes*, p. 22.

632 634 [621] In these three counties there were no instances of two other types of village found rarely in Ngoniland. Occasionally an immigrant labourer working on the Fort Jameson tobacco farms manages to attract sufficient followers from among other labourers and his local affines to found a new village in an Ngoni chiefdom. The other rare type of village is formed by direct administrative [648] action. The Administration has been largely concerned to amalgamate existing villages rather than to create new ones. In at least one instance, however, scattered clusters of huts inhabited by people who had fled from several different villages to avoid coming under agricultural control have been united into a new village under a headman of their own choosing. One example of each of these rare types of village is included in the sample of villages analysed in Table VII (p. 133).

621 631 634

TABLE IV. ORIGIN OF VILLAGES IN SELECTED COUNTIES, 1948

	Number of villages in county, classified by origin				
County	*County segment*	*Other segment under Mpezeni*	*Other Ngoni groups*	*Other tribes, joining Ngoni after 1898*	*Total*
X	60 (72%)	4 (5%)	1 (1%)	18 (22%)	83 (100%)
Y	26 (55%)	10 (21%)	0 (0%)	11 (23%)	47 (100%)
Z	59 (70%)	16 (19%)	0 (0%)	9 (11%)	84 (100%)
Total	145 (68%)	30 (14%)	1 (0.5%)	38 (18%)	214 (100%)

Number of counties in Northern Rhodesia under Mpezeni 10
Number of villages in Northern Rhodesia under Mpezeni 540 approximately

It will be seen from Table IV that about two-thirds of the villages in each of the selected counties belong to their own county segment. It is to villages in this category that the ties of a county chief are strongest. Here old and new systems are in accord and the chief acts both as traditional lord of the segment as well as head of the Native Authority. Villages in their county segment appear to be

more meticulous than others in such matters as discussing proposed 621
changes of site with the county chief and in reporting important 681
deaths to him. 634

The proportion of villages in each county belonging to other segments under Mpezeni varies from 5 per cent to 21 per cent. These are villages which chose, or were forced, to move away from the chief to whom they were attached in segmentary terms, or else [166] villages belonging to major segments whose lords did not become chiefs. Villages in this category have ties that in certain situations, as when there is a serious quarrel, link them more closely with some other county than with their own. In any county where there are many villages of this kind the solidarity of the county as a social group is not great. The ruling chief has many rivals who seek to divide his county and to become chiefs themselves. We must distinguish here between villages in one county which belong to the segment of another and those interloping villages which belong to one county but are situated in the territory of another. We shall discuss interloping villages later (p. 128) in connexion with the territorial aspect of counties.

In Nyasaland the history of administration has been separate 643
from that of Northern Rhodesia, but the Ngoni population there 648
also has divided itself on segmentary lines. For many years the two 634
principal leaders recognised by the Administration have been the heads of segments 5 and 6, and these segments form the cores of the two counties they control. The two county chiefs are now Native Authorities and join with an adjacent Cewa chief to form the Fort Manning Council of Chiefs. This acts as the Native administrative body for the Fort Manning division of Lilongwe District.

The geographical distribution of the twelve counties, the 631
neighbouring chiefdoms of other tribes, and the tracts of alienated 634
land are shown in Map D.

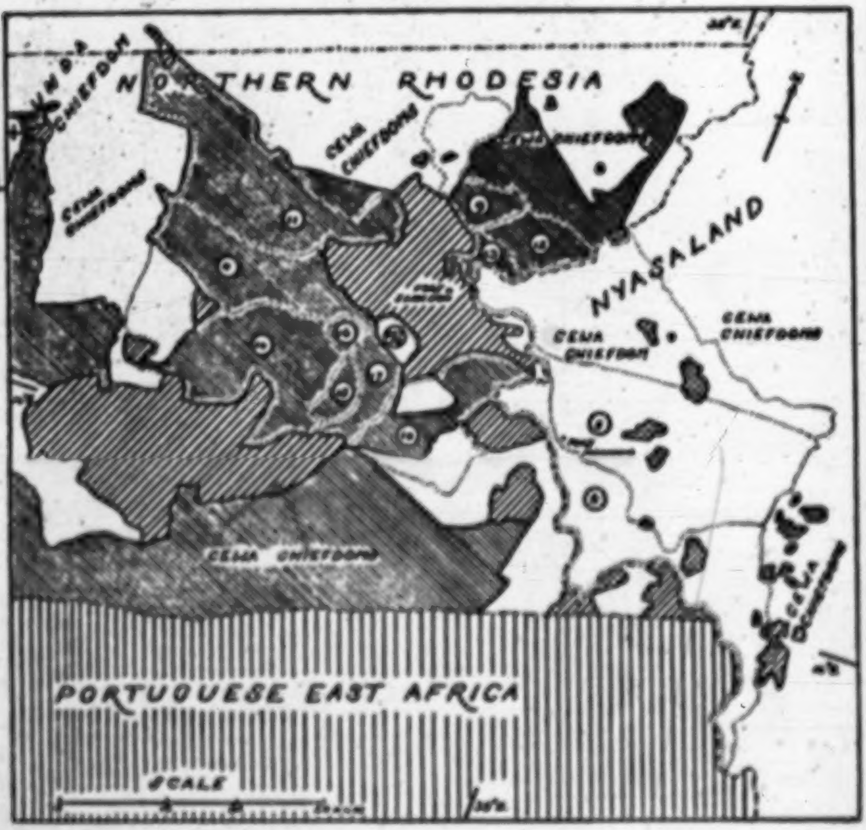
The twelve county segments, ten in Northern Rhodesia and two in Nyasaland, are, in the nomenclature of Chapter I, segments 4 to 6 and 9 to 17. We shall refer to counties in the same way by the numbers of the segments corresponding to them. Thus county 4 is the county whose segment is number 4, and so on. County 10 is the Paramount Chief's county. Some of the county segments are primal, others are residual segments left after the formation of primal segments of lower order. The definition of the segment associated with each county is indicated in Table V. This table merely restates information implicit in Diagram 1. The hereditary names of county chiefs are also given.

[Text continues on page 121]

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

MAP D. STATUTORY DIVISION OF LAND, FORT JAMIESON 1949

102
423
631
439
634
101


NORTHERN RHODESIA
NYASALAND
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
CEWA CHIEFDOMS
CEWA CHIEFDOM
NGONI CHIEFDOM
SCALE

International Boundary.
N. Charterland Concession, Northern Boundary.
Statutory Division Boundary.
County Boundary.
▨ Farmland in non-African ownership.
▨ Native Reserves.
☐ Native Trust land, crown land and disputed land, treated as if it were Native Trust land.
▥ Portuguese East Africa.
○ County numbers.

[p. 120]

TABLE V. COUNTY SEGMENTS

(631
(634
(621

County[1/A]	*Specification of county segment*	*Hereditary name of county chief*
4	Residual after formation of segments 9 to 12	Madzimawe
5	Primal	Zulu
6	Primal	Mlonyeni
9	Primal	Mnukwa
10(*a*)	Residual after formation of segments 13 to 15	Mpezeni
11	Residual after formation of segment 16	Mishola
12	Primal	Mshawa
13	Primal	Kapatamoyo
14	Residual after formation of segment 17	Nzamane
15	Primal	Sayili
16	Primal	Teleka (*b*)
17	Primal	Maguya

[643]

(*a*) Paramount Chief's county.

(*b*) The first chief of this county was known as Mlonyeni. He was succeeded by his brother, who kept his own name of Teleka. The similarity of name with the chief of segment 6 was accidental.

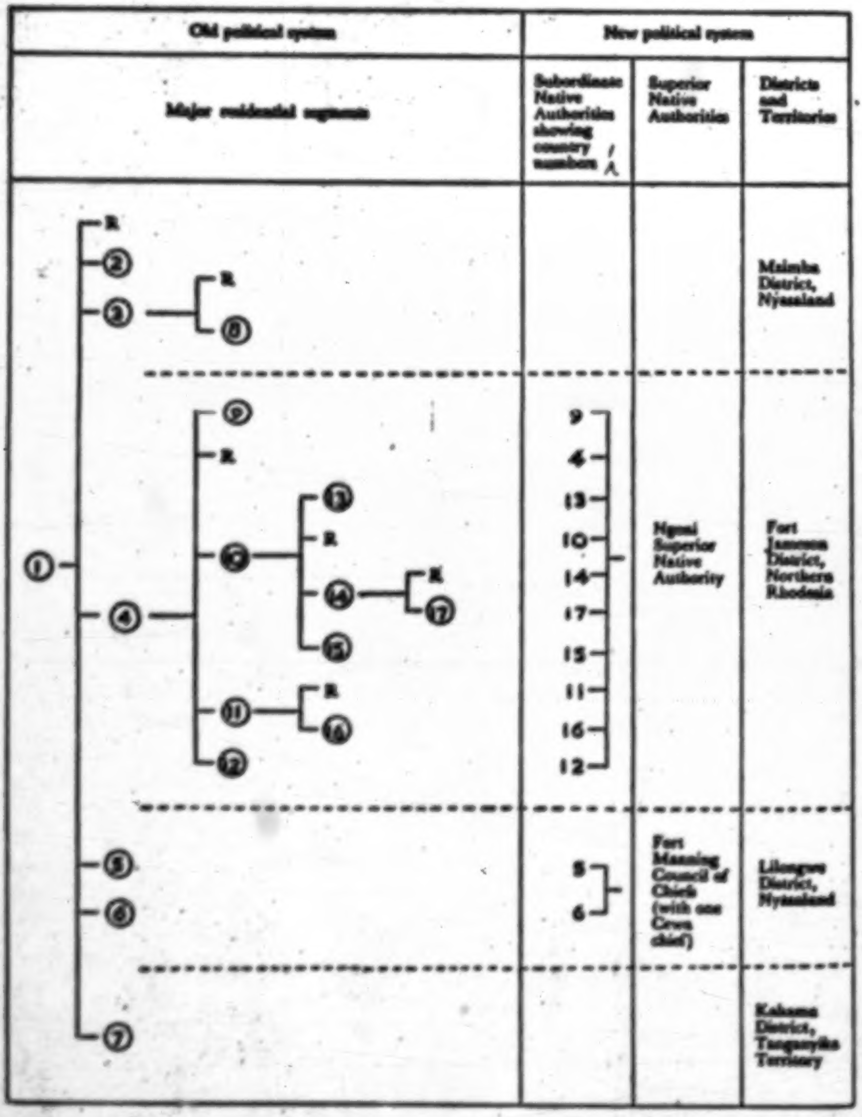
1/A [County numbers refer to map on page 120, category 116—Analyst]

The county segments are not all of the same order of segmentation, yet the counties occupy positions of equivalence in the Native Authority. Each of the eleven counties under minor chiefs is, or has been for most of the time, the area under the control of a Subordinate Native Authority and also the area of jurisdiction of [692] a second-class Native Court. According to the *Official Gazette* the [643] Paramount Chief's county appears not to have been under any Subordinate Native Authority, nor does it seem to have been provided with a second-class court, but in some respects action takes place as if there were such an authority and court. The Superior Native Authority is responsible for all ten counties in Northern Rhodesia and there is a first-class Native Court for the same area. Thus the structural alignment of the twelve counties is markedly different from that of the segments corresponding to them. In practice the relations existing between the twelve counties and

[Text continues on page 123]

611
621
631

DIAGRAM 4. OLD AND NEW POLITICAL SYSTEMS RELATED


Old political system
New political system
Major residential segments
Subordinate Native Authorities showing country numbers ¹
Superior Native Authorities
Districts and Territories
①
R
②
③
R
⑧
Mzimba District, Nyasaland
④
⑨
R
⑩
⑬
R
⑭
R
⑰
⑮
⑪
R
⑯
⑫
9
4
13
10
14
17
15
11
16
12
Ngoni Superior Native Authority
Fort Jameson District, Northern Rhodesia
⑤
⑥
5
6
Fort Manning Council of Chiefs (with one Cewa chief)
Lilongwe District, Nyasaland
⑦
Kahama District, Tanganyika Territory

⑨ Residential segment, numbered as in Table II.

9 County.

R Residual segment.

¹[County numbers correspond to those on map on page 120 category 116.-Analyst]

[p. 122]

[The notes to this chart are on page 123.-Analyst]

between their leaders are influenced by both their relative position 621
in the Native Authority scheme and the position of the county seg- 631
ments, as well as by new interests that have emerged. The formal 634
relationship between the alignments of segments and counties is set out in Diagram 4. This diagram also shows the relationship, at a higher level, between some of the other independent Ngoni groups and the major political divisions of British Africa.

In each county the chief, who does not live in the capital but in a village of his own, is head of the county segment and it seems probable that during the early years of the Administration it was [648] the affiliation of villages within their old residential segments that provided the basis for the groupings of convenience which eventually crystallized into counties. In one or two instances succession to headship of the segment and county has been plainly manipu- [557] lated, but the traditional rules of succession have not been outraged. Where the county segment is a residual one, the county chief may be also head of some segment of higher order. Thus the chief of county 11 is head of primal segment 11 although his county is only the residual segment after the formation of segment 16; county chief 14 is head of primal segment 14; and the Paramount Chief is head of primal segments 4 and 10.

← 1

[1] Three Ngoni groups stemming from Zwangendaba are not shown on this 611
diagram. 621

(*a*) A group under Magodi separated itself from either segment 2 or 3 and 631
is now settled in Lundazi District, Northern Rhodesia.

(*b*) A group led by Zulu Gama is now settled in Songea District, Tanganyika Territory. The segment corresponding to this group appears to have been formed within segment 1, but I do not know what relation it bears to the other segments nor by what process it was formed. The western part of this group is still led by a descendant of Zulu Gama, but a descendant of one of his associates named Mboanani now leads the eastern part.

(*c*) A group under Ciwele ndhlovu is settled in Dowa District, Nyasaland. Some writers say it was formed within segment 4, others within the residue of segment 1. He was a lieutenant of either Zwangendaba or Mpezeni.

The two Ngoni groups which do not stem from Zwangendaba cannot be fitted into the diagram. They are located as follows.

(*d*) The Southern Nyasaland Ngoni, who broke away from the Southern Rhodesia Ndebele and who were led originally by Mputa, are now settled in Ncheu and Dedza Districts, Nyasaland, and in Circunscracão of Angónia, District of Tete, Portuguese East Africa.

(*e*) The Ngoni group led by Soshangane are now settled in the lower Limpopo Valley, Gazaland, Portuguese East Africa.

There are a few small Ngoni groups in the Shire Valley, Nyasaland, some of which have their own minor chiefs. There are also many Ngoni men and women in the towns of southern and eastern Africa, but they are not organized into political groups on a tribal basis.

1[These notes refer to the chart on page 122.—Analyst]

5. *Relative status of Chiefs*

178 631 634 648 There was nothing inherent in the residential system which facilitated the emergence of twelve, and only twelve, counties from Mpezeni's people. Each major segment already had a large number of lesser segments within it in 1898, and it was during the unsettled years that followed the conquest, when new schemes of organization were tried out, when fresh occupants were sought for existing posts, and when the spatial distribution of people was being radically altered, that these twelve gradually emerged. Considerations of size do not seem to have been very important, for there is a wide variation in the size of counties. However, with the development of the Native Authority and Native Court, there is an upper limit to [692] the size of the county which can be served adequately by a single court and possibly by a single minor chief, and this shows itself in the moves towards forming sub-counties within one or two of the larger ones. Yet in view of administrative attempts to do away with certain chiefs, it seems that in its eyes the Ngoni have too many rather than too few chiefs. The order of segmentation is not critical, as we have seen. Nor has there been merely an ossification of the formal structure as it was at the moment of conquest, as is often the case when a fluid society is suddenly put into a rigid mould. Wiese in 1891 wrote that Ngoniland was divided into four districts.[20] In our terms, these were as follows:

(*a*) Primal segment 11.
(*b*) Primal segment 14.
(*c*) Residual segment 10 after 14 was formed.
(*d*) Residual segment 4 after 10 and 11 were formed.

Of these four districts, the first has given rise to two counties, 11 and 16; the second to two, 14 and 17; the third to three, 10, 13 and 15; and the fourth to three, 4, 9 and 12. Wiese does not indicate in what districts he would place segments 5 and 6.

The fortuitous manner in which the counties have emerged is illustrated by the fact that for certain purposes one of the counties is treated as if it were two. At one time, when there were more administrative divisions than there are now, it was divided into two [651] areas, and this arrangement still persists for tax collection. Other counties have only one tax register book each, but this one has two.

In genealogical terms also, the emergence of the twelve chiefs appears to have been fortuitous. For example, the second wife of [643] Mpezeni I in segment 10, after the formation of segments 14 and 15,

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[20] Wiese, 'Expedição', pp. 469-70.

648
had one son who died unmarried. The heir of Mpezeni I next after 178
Nsingu was, therefore, the eldest son of the third wife in segment 10. 631
This man's position in segment 10 was, therefore, equivalent to 634
that of the eldest son of the second wife in segment 14, who was the [643]
second heir in that segment. Of these two second heirs, the latter,
in the less important segment, was able to establish himself as the
chief of county 17 whereas the former, in the more important seg- [557]
ment, succeeded merely in becoming a village headman. Similarly,
some lieutenants managed to become chiefs, others of comparable
status did not. Wiese mentions six lieutenants by name. One of
these became a chief, the other five did not. The segments of two
other lieutenants, not mentioned by Wiese, became county segments
and one other lieutenant became chief in the county of his lady's
segment.

The evidence, therefore, suggests that we must look upon this 178
transition from one system to another as no simple procedure by
which indigenous forms of organization are taken over largely 648
unchanged by a colonial administration. The change from an 557
isolated expanding system based on warfare to a large-scale quasi-static system based on subsistence production and migratory labour
provided opportunities for advancement for those who could adapt
themselves more quickly than their neighbours. In one sense the
really significant change came not in 1898 but in the 1920s, when
the pattern of alignment became fixed. In the intervening period
Ngoni society was still fluid, and an ambitious man had hope of
securing advancement even as he had in the old days before the
conquest, even though that advancement was achieved by different
means and in a different context. It was after the twelve counties
had been fixed, when it became clear that no more chiefs were to [634]
be made, that social mobility declined. With a rapidly changing
external environment it was unlikely that this static condition
would last, and with the growth of the Native Authority bureaucracy a new opening presented itself. Recently there are indications
that further openings for the ambitious are being provided in the [632]
formation of parishes and in other schemes of rural development.
But there are no new chiefs, even as there are no new plumed
warriors for them to lead in battle or on whose behalf they can [554]
intercede with the tribal ancestors. Leadership in a society of half-peasants, half-proletarians, is based on other interests.

The salaries of chiefs are determined at an annual budget 465
meeting held by the District Officer and attended by the chiefs and 634
a few other men. The general outline of the tribal budget is
suggested by the Administration, but on items of interest, such as 648

465 personal emoluments, there is usually some discussion. Thus the
634 relative amounts paid to each chief provide us with some indication
648 of the importance attached to him by the Administration and his colleagues. The salaries paid in 1946 are set out in Table VI together with the number of villages in each county in 1938, the last year for which I have that information.

TABLE VI. SALARIES OF CHIEFS AND VILLAGES IN THEIR COUNTIES

[643]

County segment	*Number of villages in county*, 1938	*Salary of county chief in £s per annum*, 1946
10	87	120 (*a*)
14	101	97½
4	88	82½
11	77	67½
12	42	52½
17	35	37½
13	30	27 (*b*)
15	28	27 (*b*)
9	19	30
16	19	30
Total	526	571½
Mean	52.6	57·15

(*a*) Paramount Chief.
(*b*) Calculated from monthly rate. Both these chieftainships were vacant for part of 1946.

It will be seen that the amount of a minor chief's salary is closely correlated with the number of villages in his county. The chiefs of counties 13 and 15 appear to be underpaid in relation to the number of their villages, and this may be related to efforts which the Administration had been making about that time to eliminate these two chieftainships and to amalgamate their chiefdoms with others. This arrangement also conforms to the alignment of segments.
[643] ments. The Paramount Chief is in charge of county 10 but he is also head of primal segment 4 which includes all the others, and it is therefore appropriate that he should be paid most. Chief 14 is

paid more than 17, as befits the fact that segment 14 contains 634
segment 17, and similarly 11 is paid more than 16. 648

From another point of view we see that the sizes of the counties, [465]
in terms of the number of villages, are in accord with the segmentary
alignment, although here we have to remember that we are dealing 634
not with the county segments, residual or primal, but with the 648
counties themselves, each containing villages from many segments. 554
Yet despite this complication, it remains true that the status of a chief, as measured by the number of villages he controls, is in conformity with his position in the segmentary residential system. It may well be that during the early administrative period fortune favoured those leaders whose *de facto* following was in agreement with their position in the old political system. The use of hereditary
names emphasizes the connexion of the minor chiefs of to-day [551]
with the pre-conquest State and to some extent reflects their traditional alignment. Apart from county 16, where the hereditary name changed when a chief was succeeded by his brother, all the hereditary names refer to the first holders of the chieftainship, though not necessarily to the first leader of the county segment. Thus, for example, segment 5 was founded by Lomapela, brother of Zwangendaba. When the British Administration began, segment 5 was led by Zulu, a son's son of Lomapela. Zulu was recognized as a chief by the Administration, and the name Zulu has been adopted by the two chiefs, his sons, who have succeeded in turn. Similarly, segment 15 was founded for the lady Kukuya Kupili twala, a wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I. Her eldest son, Sayili, was recognized by the Administration as a chief, and this name has been inherited by his son and son's son who have succeeded him as county chief.

We should not infer from the conformity between the position of chiefs in modern and traditional terms that the present system is maintained solely by values surviving from before the conquest. This is plainly not the case. Our point here is that in this particular respect traditional values do not clash with those of the new order.

6. *Counties as territorial units* 178

We have seen that during the period of migration there were no 631
lasting boundaries, and that political allegiance outlasted changes 634
in geographical location. This state of affairs continued for some [167]
time after the conquest. The moves that were made were much shorter than in previous times, but the same principle applied. From 1900 to 1930 many villages moved from one site to another as land was alienated to Whites, as the boundaries of proposed

631 reserves were amended, and as existing gardens were exhausted.
634 Movement of this kind did not greatly affect political allegiance, so
178 that not all the villages acknowledging the control of a minor chief
were built in his vicinity. Coxhead mentions seven defined
territorial units in 1914, but by the time I began fieldwork in 1946
their boundaries had been forgotten.[21] Most of the villages in any
one county were clustered together, with the capital village and the
chief's village somewhere in the middle of the cluster, but there
were also more distant villages situated among those belonging to
other counties. The next stage of development appears to have
been the definition of county boundaries, so that by 1946 it was
possible to speak of some villages as situated in one county and
owing allegiance to another. Most of these interloping villages, as
we may call them, belonged to the segment of the county to which
they owed allegiance. They were a bone of contention between
chiefs, for although each chief desires as many villages as possible
[311] under his control, he has only a limited amount of land in his county
with which to satisfy his people. An analogous situation is found
in some Welsh sheep farms, where each farmer likes to own as many
sheep as possible but hopes they will graze on someone else's land.
The chief in political control of an interloping village endeavoured
to maintain his control at a distance and at the same time to make
use of the land in the local chief's county, while the latter had
to decide between trying to make the interloping village shift its
allegiance so as to increase his own following and trying to get it to
move away so as to give his people more land. In 1947 and 1948,
[648] to avoid such difficulties between chiefs, the Administration defined
county boundaries precisely and insisted that all villages within the
area of a county should be under the control of the county chief.

Thus, in the development of the county as a social group, ties
631 of segmentary affiliation have been gradually replaced by those of
634 territorial propinquity. This replacement is not yet complete, nor
648 has it arisen merely as a consequence of Administrative action in
178 the last few years. Village histories show that in many instances a
village changed from attachment to the head of its major segment
to attachment to the local county chief many years ago and without
prompting from the Administration. Villagers marry their neigh-
[582] bours irrespective of county affiliation and thus build up ties which
link them to the local county. It may be inconvenient to walk a
long way to the court and county meetings of a distant chief,
particularly if the local chief appears to listen more readily to his
people's complaints and advice.

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[21] Coxhead, *Native Tribes*, pp. 22, 24.

7. *Villages*

Throughout Ngoni history the village has been an easily 621 recognizable residential unit. Many of the pre-conquest villages, particularly those which were headquarters of major segments, were large clusters of huts with thousands of inhabitants. Although there are none of comparable size to-day, the concept of the village remains. The bulk of the present Ngoni rural population live in discrete clusters of huts housing between fifty and two hundred people. These we call villages. Each village is spatially distinct [361] from the next, and generally is surrounded by garden land and bush.

The post of headman of a single village has never been very 622 important in the scheme of administration. Under the 1903 scheme, district headmen were appointed in charge of groups of villages. 648 After 1916 this term was dropped in favour of minor chief, sub-chief or headman of a group of villages. The men referred to by [634] these names were the people who became county chiefs. Below them no individuals were appointed as leaders of social groups. From at least 1904 onwards there were men called district messengers 624 who carried ornamental spears as badges of office and who carried out the instructions of the Native Commissioner. They had the 202 functions of policemen and messengers, although some of them [625] were heads of villages in their own right. In 1916, the title of these men was changed to divisional headmen, and they were described as being heads of groups of villages. Nevertheless, at least among the Ngoni, most divisional headmen continued to act merely as messengers and police, and leadership of groups of villages continued to rest with the variously styled minor chiefs. After 1929 the work of divisional headmen was taken over partly by the Native Authority messengers and partly by land messengers, who are Government (Boma) messengers sent to live rurally from time to time.

Yet although the office of village headman has not been of 621 Administrative significance, the village has always been an important 648 social group. We have seen that even in pre-conquest times, 178 when the State as a whole was much more concentrated spatially than it is now, the fact of common residence was of significance within the segmentary residential system. The village had a central cattle byre. Its headman was known by a special term and [622] once a primal segment had grown to village size the segment name was not applied to any residual segment within the headquarters village. The policy of the Administration, combined with a change in kinship relations among the tribe (a change from the quasi- [601]

178 621 648 [601] agnation of the small segments to what I have termed an omnidirectional system), has increased the importance of the single village. After 1898 the Administration endeavoured to bring the people back into villages of moderate size which could be easily supervised by the Administration acting through chiefs.[22] In 1912 a comprehensive scheme of Native reserves was proposed. To facilitate the introduction of the scheme, many small villages were amalgamated with others near by to form units of forty huts or more. The larger groups of composite villages were to form the nuclei of the reserves.[23] After 1930, when villages began to spread out again, many of the enforced amalgamations came to an end. The Administrative rules that every man must live in a recognized village and that a village with less than ten tax-paying men could not be recognized were not always enforced, although they were not repealed until 1945. Administrative recognition has been an important consideration in determining the size of villages but it has not been the only one.

621 681 178 In the residential system, the process of segmentation did not stop with the founding of the segments we now know as county segments. Already in 1898 there were very many more segments in being than the few we have shown in Diagram 1. There we have indicated the position of the major branches of the tree of State but have omitted the hundreds of minor limbs and thousands of twigs which made up the whole. Even if we restrict our attention to segments founded before 1898 we find within any county segment to-day many smaller groups, some of them divisions, others single villages, and a few containing several villages, which are in fact inferior segments formed by one or other of the processes we discussed in Chapter I. Lieutenants and others have made their own segments, junior sons have left their natal villages, and so on. The processes of segment formation since 1898 have not been identical with those prevailing before the conquest, for the quasi-agnatic structure of segments has been modified and segments of recent formation, if in fact we can legitimately call them segments at all, are not organized in the same hierarchical manner as in the old residential system. We shall discuss the formation of small social groups in a later part of our study, the analysis of village life. 178 634 622 Here, at the county level, we have to deal with what is essentially a continuation of a pre-conquest process. Each successive head of a county segment, i.e. each county chief, has formed his own new segment within that of his predecessor. Thus, for instance, where

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[22] *Reports on the Administration*, 1902, p. 2, and 1903, p. 2.
[23] *M.R.A.*, p. 108.

the reigning chief is the grandson of the founder of the county seg- 178
ment, there is one minor segment founded by his father within which 634
he has founded his own segment. In counties where there have been 622
more than three successive heads of the segment, there will be more
than one segment intervening between the county segment and
that of the reigning chief. With the decline in polygyny, most
chiefs have had only one bevy of wives or even a single wife, so [595]
that they have been each able to found only one segment. It will
be convenient to speak of 'chief's segment' for a segment founded [611]
by a reigning chief, and of 'regal segment' for a segment founded
by a former chief. With this nomenclature, each chief's segment
becomes regal on the death of its founder.

This terminology links up with our use of the terms *regal* and 631
chief's villages, as I have defined them elsewhere.[24] The head- 622
quarters of a regal segment is a regal village, and the headquarters 643
of a chief's segment is a chief's village. Similarly the headquarters
of a county segment is a capital village.

In general we may refer to capital, regal and chief's villages
collectively as royal villages, for they represent the chieftainship,
and the history of the State, as against the diverse particular interests
represented by the villages led by commoners. Four minor chiefs
are, however, not agnatic descendants of Zwangendaba, and we
can call their segments and villages royal only with qualification.
Two of these four chiefs use the royal descent-name, and they all [611]
generally ally themselves with their royal colleagues. Yet there are
many Ngoni in these pseudo-royal counties, particularly true
agnatic descendants of Zwangendaba or of regional governors, who [578]
are scornful of the royal pretensions of their county chiefs.

Some of the junior kinsmen of Zwangendaba became leaders of independent Ngoni groups. None of the junior sons of Mpezeni I became independent leaders but some of them or their descendants did become county chiefs. None of the junior sons of Nsingu or Mpezeni II became chiefs and under the present system none of them is likely to do so. Nevertheless they founded segments, and this has happened in every junior line. In each county, as well as the county, regal and chief's segments, whose founders have been on the direct line of succession to the chieftainship, there are also segments founded by junior members of the chiefly house. These we shall term *cadet segments* and the headquarters of a cadet segment a *cadet village*.

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[24] Barnes, 'Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 204-6. In an earlier publication, 'Political development', p. 106, I used the adjective *private* in place of *regal* and *chief's*.

Apart from the fact that the head of the segment is, or once
622 was, a member of the royal lineage, there is little difference between
631 a cadet segment and a commoner one. The majority of segments
643 in the system as a whole have been founded by commoners and the
621 majority of extant villages are the headquarters of commoner
segments. Before the conquest, one of the principal mechanisms
for ensuring the spatial dispersal of an expanding population was the
[361] formation of new large villages, the headquarters of segments
[168] formed for bevies of queens. After the conquest a comparatively
stationary population has dispersed not under the leadership of
queens but by the formation of new segments by commoners, not
all of them even lieutenants of their lords.

Some indication of the distribution of present-day villages
175 among these various types is given in Table VII. This table is based
621 on 82 village histories collected in the general course of fieldwork.
631 The villages were selected casually and arbitrarily, without reference
to this particular problem. I also collected the histories of several
counties, in the course of which I became acquainted with other
village histories. I have excluded these from the sample to avoid
weighing it too heavily with capital and chief's villages, whose
names are mentioned in county histories. In consequence, the
sample contains no chief's village at all. It also contains too few
villages that have come into Ngoniland from other tribal areas, as
can be seen by comparing it with Table IV (p. 118). Nevertheless
it should serve to show the rough orders of magnitude.

It will be seen that about four out of five at the present time are commoner villages, and that about half of these were already in existence as distinct villages in 1898. On the other hand, seven out of the nine royal villages in the sample were founded before 1898.

Apart from the six incoming villages and the two founded by a labour immigrant and Administrative action, all the villages in the sample have some segment of the old residential system, or its modern equivalent, as their core. Most of the commoner villages have been formed by the differentiation of a quasi-relative, cognatic or affinal relative from his lord. By contrast, most royal villages have been formed by differentiation between bevies of co-wives or between sons and their fathers.

In pre-conquest times there was a dogma that the chief owned
[422] all the cattle in the tribe. This dogma related to the structural
[231] position of the chief as head of the highest segment, and therefore in
authority over the State and its resources rather than to the day-to-day care and disposal of cattle. There were cattle in each village

and village headmen looked after them. About half the cattle in 175
Ngoniland were captured during the fighting of 1898 and although 621
many of these were returned to the Ngoni, they were soon disposed 631
of to White traders. To-day, many of the cattle in royal (i.e. 422
capital, regal and chief's) villages are said to belong to the Para- 231
mount Chief. This statement of royal ownership is now not merely
one referring to political overlordship, for these beasts are contrasted with others which belong to commoners and to other chiefs

TABLE VII. VILLAGES FOUNDED BEFORE AND AFTER 1898

How founded or incorporated in the Ngoni State	*Type of present-day village*					
	Royal			*Cadet*	*Commoner*	*Total*
	Capital	*Regal*	*Chief's*			
Founded by regional governors or their ancestors prior to creation of the Ngoni State	0	0	0	0	3	3
Founded before 1898 to accommodate other segments of the residential system	1	6	0	1	25	33
Total known to have been founded before 1898	1	6	0	1	28	36
Founded to accommodate segments of the residential system, date unknown	0	0	0	1	11	12
Founded after 1898 to accommodate segments of the residential system or their modern equivalents	0	2	0	4	20	26
Founded outside the Ngoni State, date unknown, entering it after 1898	0	0	0	0	6	6
Founded in Ngoniland by a labour immigrant after 1898	0	0	0	0	1	1
Founded by direct Administrative action after 1898	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total known to have been founded or incorporated after 1898	0	2	0	4	28	34
Grand total	1	8	0	6	67	82

Sample collected casually in the general course of fieldwork.

175 and members of the royal lineage. Nevertheless, the care and
631 disposal of these royal cattle is the responsibility of the head of each
621 village where they are kept. If the Paramount Chief visits the
472 village, and a beast is killed in his honour, it is the Paramount Chief
221 who is praised as the owner of the beast. The nearer the village
[643] concerned to the Paramount Chief, geographically, in terms of
segments, and in terms of counties, the more the man in charge of
the cattle should refer to the Paramount Chief before killing one of
them, or to report a loss by leopards or hyenas. A few years ago the
son of the first lieutenant in a regal village in the Paramount Chief's
county removed some royal cattle to another tribal area where he
had kinsmen. When this was discovered the matter was discussed
[685] by the senior lieutenants of the Paramount Chief's county at his
village, and the lieutenant and his son were ordered to be banished.
A new man was made first lieutenant in the regal village. In this
instance, the lieutenant showed plainly that he was not using the
cattle in the interests of the chieftainship. Had his village been
farther away from the Paramount Chief, or had his use of the cattle
been less obviously merely to his own advantage, it is unlikely that
such severe reprisals would have been taken.

These cattle do still provide a visible sign of the connexion
[643] between the headquarters of the various segments and the Paramount Chief, and they still provide the first lieutenants of the royal village with wealth which they can use at their discretion to further the interests of the chieftainship. The structural relationship between the Paramount Chief and his subordinates in the old segmentary system is still partly mediated through cattle.

In the old residential system each segment, however small,
631 contained within itself the seeds of an independent State, for there
621 was no inherent restriction on its growth. When the imposition of
648 British rule modified this system, the effect of the ossification of the
system at the top was to prevent further splits in the State. The relationship between the major segments which became counties was defined, or rather was redefined, in perpetuity within the bounds of a single Superior Native Authority. However, below the level of these segments no such process of definition took place. A county, in Administrative terms, consisted of so many villages, not of a system of nesting segments. The Administration did not perpetuate these lesser segments by adapting them to its own scheme, and inter-village and intra-county relations were largely left to find their own configuration. This has had three distinct results.

Firstly, present relations between pairs of villages are still
628 formulated in traditional terms and in part still arise as a result of
621

the same processes we have seen at work in the formation of segments. 628 Those villages are linked which have a common origin, 621 and the mechanism of dispersal is still the same as in pre-conquest times. Sons of a headman still break out of their natal village and lieutenants and others move off to make their own villages. However, [178] with the decline in polygyny, fewer new villages arise from [595] the formation of new bands of wives by a headman.

Secondly, the village has become more important than before, and village membership is now critical in a wide variety of situations. 621 Thirdly, because it has become easier to move from one village to 178 another than to form a new village, the genealogical structure of the village has become highly diversified as compared with segments of similar size in the old system.

Thus, the transition has been from a State based on a continuously 178 segmenting political system to a minor unit of administration in a modern State. The new order has grown out of the old, 64 not as the result of any professed policy of preserving indigenous forms of political organization, but because the aims of the Administration were essentially conservative, because it was concerned with preserving order in the country as cheaply as possible and did not wish to introduce economic and political changes which would conflict with the supply of labour to other areas scheduled for earlier development; and because for the most part those individuals who occupied powerful positions in the old régime were best able to survive in the struggle for power which determined the eventual form of the new. Therefore, although their entry into the colonial empire was so much more abrupt than that of their matrilineal neighbours, the political system to which Ngoni are now subject bears many more superficial similarities to its former condition than is the case among the Cewa and others. The changes have been great, as we have seen, but the symbols and names remain, with changed significance, to remind Ngoni of their past.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

Chapter Five

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN A LARGE-SCALE SOCIETY

1. The Administration and the Native Authority 2. Rivals of the Paramount Chief 3. The chief's advisers 4. The chief and his people 5. Royal hunts 6. African bureaucracies 7. Capital, court, and chief's village 8. Politics and the courts 9. Moral and physical sanctions 10. External links 11. Conclusion

1. *The Administration and the Native Authority*

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UNDER THE present system, political power lies not with the Paramount Chief but with the Administration. The administrative officers who come into face-to-face contact with the Ngoni are themselves subordinate to higher provincial officers and to the headquarters of the Government at Lusaka, and the Government is in its turn partly under the control of the United Kingdom Government through the Colonial Office and partly responsible to the local Legislative Council. Even the most recently joined cadet represents this powerful hierarchy to the Ngoni, and to a large extent his actions have its backing. There are about seventy tribes in Northern Rhodesia, and thousands more in the rest of the Colonial Empire, and matters of general administrative policy are decided by people some of whom have never heard of the Ngoni, and with reference to considerations of which the Ngoni are unaware. Thus to the Ngoni, the Administration appears always inscrutable and unpredictable. The unpredictability partly arises from the latitude which must inevitably be allowed to individual officers combined with a high rate of turnover. The good intentions of the Administration are suspect except where the Administration appears clearly as protecting Ngoni interests against the demands of some other group in the community, such as planters, Cewa, Indians, Coloureds, or missions.

The Administration works through the Native Authority, and it is through the Native Authority that Ngoni men and women have access to the Administration. This is not entirely true of Ngoni who live permanently in the township, where there are other channels of access, but applies to the bulk of the rural population. If direct representations are made to the Administration, then the

man presenting his request for a gun licence, or for permission to 648
go to Southern Rhodesia, or to move to another village, or whatever it may be, is told first to bring a letter from his chief in support of his request and it will then be considered. Thus the approval of the chief is necessary for a variety of enterprises.

A chief may decide not to support a request for a variety of reasons. He does not want to recommend to the Administration projects which will turn out unfavourably, and yet he does not want to oppose unnecessarily the wishes of his people who may begin to drift away into other counties or to Southern Rhodesia if they feel he is being unfair to them. Many of these requests from his people are handled by the court clerk who has custody of the rubber stamps, without whose imprint no letter looks official. Other councillors and advisers may also help with these requests, and may advise the chief, in the light of their own interests and of their estimate of the public interests, on whether or not to support a
request. There is thus opportunity for a friend of the chief to block [662]
rivals and enemies by seeing that their requests do not go forward. Men who are thwarted in this way can appeal to the Administration, and may perhaps be granted their request. Such action, however, is likely to increase the antagonism of the Native Authority towards them, and in so far as they have defied the authority of the
chief by appealing against his decision, they may be censured by [626]
their neighbours. Thus what they gain in one respect may be offset by what they lose in another. When the quarrel between a councillor and a man who is, say, trying to open a shop in his village is of long standing and with faults and undisclosed offences on both sides, it may be unwise to risk the whole matter being brought to the notice of the Administration by an appeal over the matter of the shop.

In other situations, where the Administration endeavours to 627
intervene in some matter in which the chief is thought to be dilatory, 648
the Native Authority may shield a man because of the danger of possible repercussions. Thus, for instance, a District Officer on tour found a man living in a village at which he was not registered. He turned the offender over to the Native Court. The offender had a perfectly good defence but his story would have involved reference to incest by an important person and it was therefore undesirable that the District Officer should hear of the matter. Accordingly the Court delayed the hearing of the case on some technicality, and after the District Officer had left the area nothing more was done.

In the main the Administration presents a united front to the 648
Ngoni, and the words and actions of each Administrative officer

648 support those of his colleagues. However, chiefs and others do
[661] sometimes manage to play off one administrator against another
where there are differences of interest between different departments
of the Administration, and occasionally appeals by Ngoni chiefs to
high Administrative officials against the actions of their juniors
are successful. It is easier for Ngoni to exploit the much greater
differences of interest between the different sections of the non-African community, officials, missions, planters and European and
Indian traders.

In the early years of this century it appears that the chiefs were
648 approached by labour recruiters, planters, and missionaries who
662 wished to gain their favour and utilize this to their own advantage.
It is difficult to gauge to what extent this practice continues. There
are one or two recent instances where the missions have clearly
[791] recognized the importance to them of securing the goodwill of an
Ngoni in high authority, and it would also appear that some high-placed Ngoni have utilized their position to gain from the missions
services which might not otherwise have been so readily available
to them. With the cessation of labour recruiting there has been no
[864] opportunity for recruiters to offer presents to chiefs to sweeten their
way. The nearest modern equivalent to this practice is found in the
[866] facilities sometimes provided by mine managers in the Copperbelt
[579] and elsewhere for Ngoni and other chiefs to visit their tribesmen
working there, but with the increased stabilization of labour at the
mines this arrangement has declined in importance. Traders have
been known to offer bribes to chiefs, but so far as can be judged,
money and goods handed over in this way often bring no return,
and indeed some of the objects for which bribes are offered are
plainly beyond the power of the person concerned to grant.
Planters also seek to gain the support of those with influence in
tribal and village life. In matters of this kind it is difficult for the
observer who spends only a short time in the area to come to any
quantitative estimates, but it is my impression that as compared with
comparable situations in West Africa, as reported in the literature,
there is little bribery in Ngoni society. The first reason that suggests
itself is the poverty of the Ngoni in relation to their European and
Indian neighbours. Ngoni do not control any rich natural resources,
[556] save perhaps for a few timber trees, with which they might be
persuaded to part. The only form of wealth they possess which is
of value to their neighbours is their manpower. This was once
worth buying and perhaps could be bought. Now the chiefs and
headmen do not have the authority to order their people to go and
[481] work for a particular employer. Even if they did, Ngoni make

inefficient workers on the local tobacco farms, where the ties that 648
link them to the near-by villages with their marriages, funerals, and 662
beer parties are still operative, and where the wages are much [461]
lower than in Southern Rhodesia. Secondly, Ngoni tend to suspect
the good intentions of any non-African, however lavish he may be [186]
with his presents, and for this reason are reluctant to enter into agreements with them the social consequences of which they cannot foresee.

2. *Rivals of the Paramount Chief*

In pre-conquest times the death of the head of the State was 643
followed by a struggle between rival heirs and by fission of the
State. Under British colonial rule these struggles cannot be carried 648
on by force of arms, and it is difficult to split the tribe when there is nowhere for the dissident section to move to and when Administrative recognition is an important condition for political existence. Nevertheless the same struggles continue even if in a different guise.

One of the most interesting incidents in the struggles between 611
rival groups for the chieftainship occurred in 1903 and hinged on an
aspect of segmentation within the residential system which we have 643
not so far discussed. It was customary for the heir to a large segment founded by his father to place one wife in the headquarters of that segment as well as establishing his bevies of wives with their own inferior segments. The eldest son of the selected wife grew up to be in charge of the headquarters and came to be identified with his father's father, the founder of the headquarters, as against his father who was lord of its segment. Thus, for example, Zwangendaba, heir to segment 1, founded segment 18 for his own great wife, but also placed one of his wives in the headquarters of segment 1, the segment founded by his father for *his* great wife. Similarly Mpezeni, as son of Zwangendaba, placed one of his wives in the headquarters of segment 4, which by then had replaced the annihilated segment 18. In this matter the Ngoni seem to have differed from the Zulu, for among them, according to Bryant, the *isizinda*, son of the placed wife, represents his own father as against the father's main heir.[1]

In 1903 the eldest son of Mpezeni I by the selected wife in segment 4 tried to assume the name of his father's father, Zwangendaba. This was in accord with his structural position as representing the interests of the founder of the segment as against those of the

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[1] Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 80; Bryant, *Dictionary*, s.v. *isi-zinda*. cf. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, p. 401. Lancaster implies that the selected wife was called *ikhohlo*. This seems unlikely in view of the Zulu use of *i(li)khohlo* for the senior left-hand wife.

611 643 reigning lord of the segment. It is probable that in this instance the divergence of interest had been increased by the shooting of Nsingu, for Mpezeni II, son of Nsingu and grandson of Mpezeni I, was only a young boy and in the hands of guardians who were commoners and who might respond to pressure from their ward's father's paternal half-brother. So far as can be gathered from the published account of the meeting called by the Administration to [648] discuss the matter, the young Paramount was supported by the lords of segments 12, 14 and 17 and by the senior lieutenants of segment 10. He was opposed by the heads of segments 9, 13 and 16 and by the senior lieutenant of segment 4. Segment 15 seems not to have taken part in the dispute. Thus the main cleavage appears to have been between segments 10 and 12 on the one hand and the residue of 4 on the other. Segment 13, in terms of its structural position, was on the wrong side; this may have been connected with the fact that the regional governor of Mpezeni I who led segment 13 was born in the headquarters of segment 4. After a quarrel about succession to his father's office of lieutenant in that segment, he moved to segment 10 where he found favour with the chief and was later promoted to regional governor. In the 1903 dispute he apparently transferred his support back to his natal segment.[5]

The attempt to assume the name Zwangendaba failed. The young chief's supporters outnumbered their opponents at the meeting and his spokesmen argued that he had been recognized by all the other chiefs and by the Administration as Paramount of the whole Ngoni country. If his rival took the name he would be led to usurp the authority of the young Paramount. The Native Commissioner then ruled that the name could not be taken.

Throughout his reign Mpezeni II was opposed by a half-643 brother, a son of Nsingu by a different mother. This man was older 611 than Mpezeni and claimed that his mother had really been Nsingu's 754 great wife, or at least that Nsingu had intended to make her so 669 before he was shot in 1898. This rivalry took two forms. He endeavoured to bring destruction to the chief and his cattle by 578 sorcery, and on one occasion made what seems to have been a half-hearted attempt to kill him with a spear. At the same time he endeavoured to establish his own segment as a county of its own, and in this he was assisted by others who fancied themselves as chief of the proposed new county.[6] The sorcery failed, not only because it was merely sorcery, but also because sorcery and

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[5] *N.E.R.G.G.*, 4 (1 August 1903), Supplement. See p. 35.

[6] See pp. 143f.

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divination are not well developed among the Ngoni as means of influencing action. The attempt to establish a new county failed for lack of Administrative support. Chiefs still continue to express their rivalries through sorcery, and would-be chiefs still attempt to establish new counties. 643 611 [754] [669]

When Mpezeni II died, his heir was still young and was out of the country at boarding-school. A minor chief, after quarrelling with one of the dead chief's lieutenants about the funeral arrangements, proposed that the heir should remain at school to finish his education and that meanwhile there should be a regency. However the Administration arranged for the immediate return of the heir. [872]

The rivalry between the Paramount Chief and his minor chiefs shows itself in other less dramatic ways. Thus the Paramount Chief's advisers told me that all cases coming on appeal from the courts of minor chiefs were heard in the Paramount Chief's own court of first instance, and that only if the verdict given there was not accepted was the case referred to the Appeal Court which was held at the administrative centre of the Paramount Chief's county every month. The minor chief's and their advisers told me that cases sent on appeal from them went direct to the Native Appeal Court, and emphasized that this court was composed of several minor chiefs and their councillors, called upon in rotation. In practice, as I observed in the course of my work, sometimes one procedure was followed, sometimes the other. 643 578 692

On the other hand, the minor chiefs and other politically important people support the Paramount Chief in his relations with the Administration. When recently Ngoni thought that the Administration was not treating the Paramount Chief with the respect due to his position, two minor chiefs endeavoured to organize a petition to the Administration on the matter. When the Paramount Chief's deputy was put in prison by the Administration for embezzlement, it was a minor chief who protested most strongly to the Administration. However dissatisfied the minor chiefs and people may be with any particular Paramount Chief, there is little dissatisfaction with the Paramount Chieftainship. This is still the feature of their organization which in Ngoni eyes most clearly marks them off from their neighbours, and which most clearly links them in their present lowly condition to the exploits of their illustrious forefathers. 643 648 [685] [186]

3. *The chief's advisers*

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The men who advise the chief, who enjoy his confidence and his hospitality, belong to a number of different categories. In each 643 645

639 643 645 county the senior lieutenants of the county segment are well-known figures, usually headmen of large villages, and often seen at the chief's house. There are also the lieutenants of the segments of lower order founded for their great wives by successive heads of the county segment, and in particular the lieutenants of the reigning chief's great wife's segment. There are individuals who for some reason or other have become friendly with the chief, and there are those occupying posts paid by the Native Treasury. There are the kinsmen of the chief, including the chief's deputy. All these categories contribute to the circle round the chief which keeps him informed of what is going on in his county, advises him what he should do and travels with him on journeys. The constitution of this group is not fixed and there is no formal council to which persons definitely do or do not belong. An Administrative officer once asked Mpezeni II who constituted the tribal council, and the Paramount Chief is said to have found difficulty in thinking of any names. Not all the people who might be expected to advise the chief do so, for there are always quarrels and preferences within each category. In particular, the lieutenants of regal segments seem to play a comparatively minor part. They do not represent the interests of the county as a whole, as do the lieutenants of the county segment, nor of the reigning chief, as do the lieutenants of his own village. They are the favourites of former chiefs and the segments that they represent are not functionally significant under the present scheme of administration.

In recent years the Administration has endeavoured from time [648] to time to discuss affairs with the chiefs and the four newly appointed Native Authority councillors in isolation from the rest of the tribe.[4] In most situations in which matters of common interest are discussed there is, however, no restriction on who can offer advice to the chief or to the meeting. Any man can stand up and say what he wishes, but unless he is in an important social position people will listen to him attentively only if his counsel seems sound.[5]

It is the custom for a chief to nominate one of his agnatic [645] kinsmen, usually a father's son or father's brother's son, as his deputy.[6] Although this appears to have been a traditional post, I 639 645 do not know what role was played by an important man's deputy in pre-conquest times. Nowadays the deputy of a chief may help in his various official duties and represents the interests of the chief's agnatic kin as against those of his lieutenants. In village affairs

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[4] See p. 151.
[5] See pp. 158f.
[6] *Mnawe*. cf. Zulu *umnawe*, younger sibling.

the post of deputy is still of significance,[7] but in the life of the 634
county the chief's deputy does not play a great part. One man 645
appointed as chief's deputy went to Southern Rhodesia but no one has been appoinaed in his place and the chief manages without a deputy.

Another traditional post which still functions is that of chief's 202
messenger.[8] This post is quite distinct from that of district messenger 634
who is an employee of the Administration, and of Native Authority 624
messenger. The district messengers and Native Authority messengers are full-time civil servants, while the chief's messengers are only called upon from time to time and are not paid. The county chief nominates one man for each cluster of half a dozen villages or so in his county to be responsible for informing the village headmen in his cluster of forthcoming county meetings and royal hunts. Sometimes a man who has been nominated accepts his post reluctantly, but it is difficult for him to refuse, and an ambitious man may welcome the appointment for the contact it gives him with his chief.

The royal descent-name *jere* is held by all patrilineal descendants 611
of Zwangendaba's father and by the patrilineal descendants of 643
various other people who were given the name by Zwangendaba 551
or Mpezeni I.[9] Only two county chiefs do not bear this name. 634
People who do not hold it regard all those who do as kinsfolk of the Paramount Chief, and from time to time in the appointment of men to office, the common people have insisted that not all the posts should go to men bearing this name. The Administration has [648]
regarded all men named *jere* in the same way, and in its efforts to counter nepotism has made similar stipulations. A simple dichotomy of this kind overlooks the divisions within the royal house and between the agnatic kinsmen of the Paramount Chief and those who have acquired the name by other means. Distant agnatic relationship may imply less identity of interest than close non-agnatic ties. Nevertheless the appointment of councillors and others with non- [695]
royal descent names does assist the notion that the people as well as the chief have interests in the common good and share the responsibility of pursuing it.

From time to time efforts are made to create new chieftain- 634
ships. We have already mentioned one attempt.[10] The initiative 669
comes usually from the junior kinsman of a chief to whom he has

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[7] See my 'Village headmen', pp. 100-4.

[8] *Linxusa*. cf. Zulu *(i)(li)nxusa*, messenger sent by a king or chief.

[9] See Bruwer, [illegible], p. 25, for the categories of persons bearing the royal descent name.

[10] See p. 129f.

634 delegated a certain amount of responsibility, such as the collection
668 of licence fees or the holding of a court not recognized by the Administration but supplied by the county clerk with the apparatus of official forms. The would-be chief then argues that the rural district in which he lives has always been distinct from the rest of the county and that it is too far for the people in it to attend at the county court. No attempt of this kind since 1920 has been successful, although the recent dispersal of villages into reopened land outside
[693] the reserves has increased the distances some litigants have to travel to the county court, and hence the number of disputes referred to these unrecognized local leaders has increased.

4. *The chief and his people*

634 The chief interacts with his people in a variety of situations. He receives their presents of beer and other valuables, he presides at county meetings, and organizes the royal hunts. He visits them in their villages when there are important celebrations and festivities and they go to him with their requests and complaints.

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574 Ngoni offer beer as one of their principal expressions of hospitality, and in a formal beer party the ordered pattern of the
273 social structure is acted out in the distribution and dispensation of
[554] the various jars and bowls of beer.[11] One traditional obligation is to provide a jar of beer for the head of the segment. Everyone belongs, or belonged, to a hierarchy of segments so that there were many people who ought to be honoured in this way at every party. In practice, since beer is heavy to carry, few jars move outside the village in which they are brewed, but a distant political superior is sometimes called in to a village to attend a beer party at which he will be honoured in this way. In the chief's own village the chief lives close at hand and beer is provided in much the same way as for the headman in an ordinary village. When beer is brewed by important people in the capital and regal villages they often call the chief to come and visit them and enjoy their hospitality. The chief is not so frequently called to beer in commoner villages, but on an important occasion such as the formal installation of a village official, or the formal announcement that a village has moved to a new site, it is appropriate to invite the chief to attend. A chief may
634 also be honoured by his affines with beer brewed for him in the
554 same way as any other man, but there is some disagreement about the appropriateness of this, for the chief 'has exceeded all others'

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[11] See Barnes, 'Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 217-19, for the rules of and attitudes towards beer drinking.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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PLATE II. Beer party at a chief's house. Standing in the foreground wearing a fez is a Native Authority messenger.

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PLATE III. Collecting tax in a village. The Administrative clerk sits at a table on the verandah of the village headman's hut. Near him stand two Administrative messengers, and seated on the ground are men waiting to pay.

[Facing p. 144]

and is not to be treated as if he were the mere husband of a kins- 634
woman. Indeed, all marital affairs of chiefs tend to have political 554
significance; they are much discussed in the tribe and are the
particular concern of senior lieutenants of counties. A recent
incident illustrates how in relations with his affines a chief is bound 634
by the instructions of his political advisers. A chief hit his wife 683
while drinking beer in her brother's house. Her father reprimanded 578
him. At a meeting held to discuss the quarrel, the county lieutenants
and a kinsman of the chief, his father's deputy, ordered the woman's
father to pay two beasts to the chief. The chief himself said nothing.
A week or so later the man offered the beasts to the chief who said
he did not want them. Just over a year later the chief's kinsman
complained to the chief that the beast[12] had not been paid. The
chief replied that he did not want the cattle and that at the meeting
he had wanted his wife's father to be merely cautioned. His kinsman
said that despite this he would call the lieutenants who had taken
the original decision and get them to ask the woman's father why
he had not paid. Hearing this, the man offered a beast which was
accepted.[13]

Thus it is the chief in his position as head of a major segment 634
and a county who is honoured with beer and whose marriages are 273
protected, and not the chief as a bibulous aristocrat. The chief
himself does not drink all, or even any, of the beer presented to him 576
but he is responsible for dispensing it. A chief who acts like a
commoner and wanders through his villages seeking beer risks the [626]
reprimands of his lieutenants, for it is difficult to refuse a chief beer
under those conditions. A chief should not visit his people's villages
unless they invite him, or unless he has at least warned them of his
intention.

The gifts received by a chief from returned labour migrants 431
are sometimes cited as a modern form of tribute, but while these
presents may be more expensive in pecuniary terms than beer, 662
they do not have the same great social importance. The shirt or 634
hat presented by a man recently back from Southern Rhodesia
may bring him favourable attention from the chief, but the present
is made by an individual and arises from his own political
aspirations. So far as I could tell, such presents are not effective
as bribes. On the other hand, the presentation of beer is an 634
affirmation of a relationship between a social group, often a village 273
or division, and a political office, and most of those affected directly

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[12] At the meeting two beasts were asked for, but a year later only one beast was mentioned.

[13] cf. Barnes, *Marriage*, for the political significance of affinal ties.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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PLATE IV. Villagers hoeing a path to another village in preparation for a visit from the District Officer.

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PLATE V. A District Officer, with a county chief on his left, talks to village headmen during a tour of villages. In the distance are villagers listening to the conversation.

[Facing p. 145]

634 by this relationship participate in the presentation and consumption
273 of the beer.

The religion of the Ngoni before the conquest was a cult of the
[769] Paramount Chief's ancestors. This cult has disappeared and all
797 public religious activities are now conducted by members of the various Christian denominations, Roman Catholic, Dutch Reformed Church Mission, Anglican (U.M.C.A.), Seventh Day Adventist, and Watch Tower. There are a few adherents of other Christian sects who do not have churches in the Fort Jameson area and there are a few Moslems. There is little evidence to show how much the disappearance of the tribal religion has altered relations between the chief and his people. Most chiefs have some connexion with one or other mission, attend mission services from time to time and send their children to mission schools. The evangelists, deacons and elders of the churches act as leaders of the community in certain situations, particularly at funerals. Advancement within the
[557] ecclesiastical organization can be an alternative route to high status, but in most secular matters church leaders do not rival the chiefs. In church, chiefs are treated with respect and given seats of
[576] honour, while tribal and county meetings are usually opened with prayers led by a catechist or elder of the denomination to which the chief is attached.

The sanctions which people can use against their chiefs are
681 diffuse rather than organized. If the conduct of a chief is regarded
634 as outrageous, the senior lieutenants of his county segment and
626 other traditionally important people may hold a small meeting in the chief's village and there rebuke him for his misbehaviour. If the chief has offended against one of his people, say by striking him, the lieutenants may tell the chief to pay a beast to the wronged man as damages. If it is a minor chief who is involved, the Paramount Chief is sometimes told of the matter and calls the minor
[643] chief to his village to reprimand or caution him. A chief who flouted the instructions of his lieutenants or Paramount in matters of this kind would lose a great deal of the support of his people on which his position ultimately depends. The common people themselves cannot take much direct action against a chief of whose actions they disapprove, but they can gradually drift away from him into other counties and they can refrain from sending him gifts of beer or from answering his calls for labour, and they may show their disapproval by not saluting him in the traditional manner.
643 The Paramount Chief alone is saluted with the word 'Baiyete',[14] a
576 salutation which symbolizes his former position as head of an

[14] cf. Zulu *Bayede*.

independent group of Ngoni. Chibambo mentions how the use of 643 this salutation was discontinued when the head of an erstwhile 576 independent group rejoined his parent group.[15] In recent times people have indicated their disapproval of the Paramount Chief's actions by discontinuing this salutation temporarily.

Despite the security of tenure provided by Administrative recognition, a chief still needs the support of his people. There is an 634 Ngoni maxim, 'chieftainship is people',[16] and commoners are well 626 aware that it is because they support their chief that he has high status. The simplest and most effective sanction that commoners can employ against their chief is to leave him. Movement from one county to another, from one tribe to another, and from the county [166] to the town and back again is crucial in the working of modern Ngoni society. Not all these movements take place as the result of the unpopularity of chiefs, but this is one factor among many. Chibambo records an early example of people moving to segment 8 from the residue of segment 1 in order to share the hospitality of a newly appointed chief, but he goes on to say 'afterwards they found it wise to return to their proper division [segment]'.[17] In more recent times there are several examples, particularly among villages which entered Ngoniland after 1898 and who therefore largely lack segmental affiliation, of villages and clusters that have changed from one county to another for political reasons. More significant at the present time are the numbers of ambitious people who [557] emigrate to the towns because, among other things, they cannot find advancement in the political hierarchy. The most striking instance of this is in the family of the late Mpezeni II. He had six [643] sons who survived him. One is now Paramount Chief, and one is still a boy. The other four, including the chief's deputy, are town-dwellers in other parts of Africa.

5. *Royal hunts*

The royal hunt is the only occasion on which a county, or 224 more usually a rural district or part of a county, functions as an economic unit. Even then the economic element in the enterprise 476 is not very marked. The chief announces, through his messengers, 634 that on such-and-such a day he will hold a royal hunt and that the men of such-and-such villages are to meet in a certain place. The procedure followed on the hunt is exactly the same as on an ordinary hunt, with the chief or someone nominated by him in tactical command, though the number of hunters is greater than on a hunt

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[15] Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 36.

[16] *Ufumu ni wanthu.*

[17] Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 35.

224 organized by a commoner. All the animals killed belong to the chief
476 and must be taken to him. He then usually rewards the men who
634 killed and carried the animals with part of the meat. There is thus
a difference from commoner hunts, on which the animals belong
to those who kill and carry them and not to the man in charge of
the hunt. Whereas on a commoner hunt some men usually lose
interest and drop out during the chase, this is less likely to happen
on a royal hunt. A commoner, even if he is a headman, cannot force
his neighbours to come with him on a hunt, but occasionally if the
634 field is very poor a chief will summon absentees in his court.

224 These royal hunts appear to be of social rather than economic
[136] significance. Big game is scarce in Ngoniland, and a hunt attended
by two hundred men may sometimes yield as few as half a dozen
antelope. Ngoni like to eat game meat, but they do not regard
hunting as an activity in which game should be killed as effectively
as possible. They scorn the much more efficient methods employed
by the Cewa, illegal though they are in the eyes of the Administration.
An Ngoni lad was once ordered by his village headman to
attend me on a hunt in which we used nets in Cewa fashion. The
lad was sulky throughout the hunt and made no effort to kill any
animals. A few days later we went hunting again, this time
employing Ngoni techniques. We tramped many miles on a very
hot day and killed nothing at all, and yet he appeared to have
thoroughly enjoyed himself. Royal hunts must be seen in this
light. A chief can no longer command a regiment of soldiers but
[681] he can call out his men hunting.[18] Men attend because they consider
it their duty to do so and because they are aware of the sanctions
at the chief's disposal.

Royal hunts are sometimes of practical importance, when
there are lions to be hunted. Lions appear in Ngoniland sporadically,
apparently on passage between the game reserve on the
Nyasaland side of the border and the sparsely inhabited Luangwa
Valley. Hunters like to be in strength when tackling lion, and the
men of a county look to their chief to call a royal hunt to deal with
[411] them. Chiefs are relatively well supplied with guns, and the
combination of many hunters armed with spears and a few guns
gives confidence.

6. *African bureaucracies*

647 Prior to the recognition of Native Courts in 1929 there was
648 little specialization in the functions of the various indigenous
693 leaders supported by the Administration. All of them, chief, sub-

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[18] See my 'Fort Jameson Ngoni', p. 215, for Ngoni hunting methods.

chiefs and district headmen, were in undifferentiated charge of 647
people. With the formal introduction of Native Courts came provision 648
for the systematic review of judicial decisions by the Administration. 693
To do this some kind of written record was necessary.
Many chiefs could not write and court clerks had to be appointed. [212]
At the same time the posts of councillor and assessor were created,
the former to assist the chief in his executive and legislative capacity
as a Native Authority, the latter to help him in his judicial capacity
and to constitute with him the Native Court. Messengers[10] were
employed to preserve order in court, serve summonses, make
arrests and restrain the violent. Under the Ordinances, the Native
Authority has power to make rules and orders on a variety of
subjects, subject to confirmation by the Administration. The 692
Native Courts are competent to enforce these rules and orders, as
well as to administer 'tribal law' and certain items of Administrative
legislation delegated to them. They can impose fines or sentences [681]
of imprisonment or whipping. In civil cases they can award
damages, and charge a hearing fee, but the Ngoni do not distinguish
between the fee and a fine.

In 1938 an Ngoni Native Treasury was established and a 652
treasury clerk appointed to run it. After a few years the Administration
transferred a larger share of general revenue to the Native
Treasury and increased the activities for which the Native Authority
was responsible. At one time much of the finance of the Ngoni
Native Authority School, opened in 1938, was handled by the [871]
Native Treasury, though this was largely a matter of book-keeping.
The Native Authority assumed responsibility for the construction
and maintenance of roads through the reserves, the care of wells [653]
and dams constructed by the Administration, and the provision of
messengers to act as police at the lorry-checking points on the main
roads. More recently it has become responsible for ghee production,
for a demonstration farm and for a nursery of fruit trees. It has had
to arrange finance for new school buildings and county granaries
and to build these by direct labour. To handle the money for [647]
these enterprises there has been a treasury clerk and, recently, an
assistant who also helps with the collection of Native tax. The
Native Treasury acts as accountant for all these activities but the
extent to which the Administration, in one guise or another, directs
their carrying out varies considerably.

The revenue for the Treasury is derived from a share in the 651
Native tax, from the sale of licences for dogs, bicycles, arms,

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[10] Usually known by the vernacular term *kapasu* in distinction to the district messengers employed directly by the Administration.

651 marriages and for selling beer, and from fines and fees taken in court. In some years there has been a local levy on all men liable for Native tax.

642 The Native Authority, the Native Court and the Native Treasury form a single system of what is essentially local government. 693 The judicial aspect of government has always been to the fore, for the hearing of cases is an activity which has gone on without serious interruption since before the conquest. The first people to be appointed as assessors were in many instances the people who had been hearing cases with the chief for many years. They were joined in this by the councillors, for there was no separation between judicial and administrative organization in pre-conquest times and none had emerged by that time. Since the court clerk needed to be at least partially literate, he was usually a younger man who had been to school but, in some instances at least, he had close kinship ties with those in high office. He acted as a member of the bench as much as the councillors and assessors. In some courts other close supporters of the chief, particularly those who lived near their courts, also attended regularly to hear cases although they were not paid to do so, and in at least one instance a chief paid a regular salary out of his own pocket to a member of his court who was not recognized as such by the Administration.

Thus the court was the nucleus round which the Native Authority grew. The court clerk was employed as secretary to the chief and the Native Authority, and he had charge of the rubber stamps which came to be the new symbols of political power. He toured the county looking for dogs and bicycles without licences, for since he was literate he was considered the man to handle the money accruing from court fines, fees and licences. Sometimes he combined with these duties others that had nothing to do with court work, such as seeing that villages were swept clean or paths hoed. Because of his work in court he was well informed on disputes in the county, and since he made frequent trips to the township so that his accounts could be checked by the Administration, he was [554] well briefed on what was going on there. The office of court clerk came in this way to have a greater importance than its formal duties implied.

Yet in recent years the relative status of the court clerk has declined. The executive, as opposed to the judicial and fiscal, 648 functions of the Native Authority have become more numerous. 645 The activities of the Administration, instead of being confined mainly to tax collecting and the punishment of major crimes, have expanded to include a variety of social services for Africans and

these need the support and co-operation of the African community. 648
The Administration has consulted Ngoni and other Native Authorities 645
on such matters as agricultural control, the emigration of
women to the railway line, provision of better schools, and so on.
In 1948 the number of councillor posts was reduced. Instead of
employing councillors for general duties, each of the four councillors
remaining, now receiving a much higher salary than before, has
been given a specific task, the care of roads, the promotion of agriculture,
the efficient use of school facilities, and the co-ordination
of the work of the Native Authority as a whole. The Administration
has attempted to make these four councillors, together with
the ten Northern Rhodesian chiefs, into a formal council competent
to take decisions without always referring to the people as a
whole.

So far this attempt has not been very successful, but the power of
the four councillors is certainly greater than that of their more
numerous and lower-paid predecessors. The court clerks have been
overshadowed by these new men and left behind in these new
activities. Literacy is becoming common and clerks are no longer [212]
in demand as secretaries to chiefs. The Native Authority is beginning
to employ men whose jobs do not take them to court at all.

The present range of posts whose emoluments are handled by 647
the Native Treasury is shown in Table VIII.^/

All these posts are filled by the Native Authority in agreement
with the Administration. It is easy to show how a large proportion
of the employees are connected to the chiefs and senior lieutenants
by kinship, but this fact is not as significant as it might appear. The
Ngoni possess nowadays what may be called an omni-directional [611]
kinship system in which ties of kinship can be traced as convenient
through fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, husbands and
wives, and by any combination of these. It would indeed be
surprising if Native Authority employees could not trace genealogical
connexion with chiefs and their lieutenants, for so can nearly
everyone in Ngoniland. There is no formal selection procedure but
a chief may announce at a county meeting that there is a post to be
filled and those present may suggest names. Alternatively a chief
may discuss the matter with his advisers and then offer the post to
the man they decide on. Occasionally a man seeking employment [662]
approaches the Paramount Chief in the hope that there may be a
post to be filled. Thus although those who live near the chief, or
who make it their business to see him and drink with him frequently
stand a greater change of being chosen, choice is not restricted to
these people. ^/[See page 152, category 116. —Analyst]

[Text continues on page 153]

TABLE VIII. PERSONAL EMOLUMENTS TO BE PAID BY NGONI NATIVE TREASURY, 1949

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Description of post	*Number of posts*	*Mean annual salary in £s, to nearest £*
Chief	10	72
Councillor	4	60
Treasury clerk	2½(a)	57
Artisan	2	42
Court clerk	10	25
Messenger	22	25
Assessor	20	24
School attendance officer	5	24
Road foreman	2	24
Office boy	1	24
Mail runner	2	16
Nursery keeper (fruit trees)	1	15
School matron	6	9(b)
Total number of full-time posts	87½	

(a) One tax-collecting clerk whose work was in Fort Jameson Township was paid jointly by the Ngoni and Cewa Native Treasuries.

(b) Including £1½ contributed by missions.

This table is based on the approved estimates for 1949 and it is possible that not all the posts were filled. In previous years all posts had been filled without difficulty, except for the matrons.

The emoluments shown here do not include allowances paid for bicycles, lorry fares, and rent-free housing available for some employees.

Not included in the table are the sums paid to a few employees at the Demonstration Farm, and the provision made for 240 man-months of casual labour on the roads at 25s. a month and 360 man-days of carrier labour at 10d. a day.

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PLATE VI. The clerk of a county Native Court checks the whereabouts of men on the tax register of a village with an important man in the village. Standing are a Native Authority messenger with fez, and an Administrative messenger. The village headman and some of his people sit in the background.

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PLATE VII. Litigants outside a county Native Court wait for hearings to begin.

[Facing p. 152]

The tenure of a chief is very secure. Unless the chief is found 634 guilty of some crime serious in the eyes of the Administration or unless there is serious disaffection in his county which gains Administrative 648 support, a chief remains a chief for life. For the last fifty years the Administration has complained that Ngoni chiefs are inefficient and unco-operative, yet the number of instances in which a chief has been deposed is very small. I could discover only one clear instance. This security is not enjoyed by other Native Authority employees. Clerks who are found to have embezzled [647] public money lose their posts even as they are punished in the [487] Administration's courts, but the impetus to remove the occupant of a post comes usually from the Ngoni themselves and not from the Administration. Assessors and others who offend their chief are usually dismissed, while at a county meeting men may raise complaints against the actions of an office holder which, if sufficiently sustained, may result in the chief's dismissing him.

The secure tenure of the chiefs derives in part from the acceptance by the Administration that their posts are hereditary. It is interesting to note that some holders of less important and more recently created posts are saying that their sons should succeed them.

Table VIII (p. 152) shows clearly the kinds of activities that 648 come within the control of the Native Authority. It does not show 65 the whole range of social services which affect the Ngoni, for education is largely paid for by the Central Government and largely administered by the missions, while the Administration [797] itself handles a wide variety of services, such as agricultural instruction, control of labour, maintenance of main roads, postal services, and very many more. The Administration endeavours to supervise contracts between Africans and non-Africans, and retains for its own courts the right to deal with disputes between Africans and non-Africans. Ngoni participate with other tribes as political groups only within the framework of institutions supervised by the Administration, such as the African Provincial Council of the Eastern Province. The Ngoni Native Authority is in fact, like any 645 other Native Authority, a local government body to which certain functions have been delegated completely by the Central Government, and which for other functions relies partly or wholly on skilled or specialized services provided for it by the centre. The Paramount Chief is hereditary chairman of a rural district council, 643 representing the interests of his peasants to the central authority and representing it to them.

However this analogy of local government is only partly 648 correct, for the society in which Ngoni now live is not a homo- 184

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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PLATE VIII. The clerk of a Native Court, with one of the court assessors, sits in the chief's village issuing a permit for selling beer to a man who has come on behalf of his sister.

[222]

PLATE IX. A Native Authority councillor, sitting on the verandah of the Native Court in his country, issues passes to men wishing to collect caterpillars. There are no edible caterpillars in Ngoniland, and Ngoni who wish to collect them provide themselves with passes to show to the Cewa chiefs in whose countries caterpillars are found.

[Facing p. 153]

184 geneous or wholly integrated one. It is a plural society, in which
648 as yet the Administration represents the interests, albeit the
enlightened interests, of one caste and the Ngoni belong to another.
Ngoni share an interest in tobacco booms with their White and
Indian neighbours, and they share an interest in the colour bar with
distant tribes, but the field of common interest of Northern Rhodesia,
or any other major geographical unit, as a multi-racial whole is still
small. Ngoni society has not as yet become as wholly integrated
into the larger society as have say, the rural districts of Britain,
because the well-integrated larger society does not yet exist. Meanwhile
the Ngoni still retain a considerable identity of their own,
and the chiefs and the Native Authority provide the nucleus for
that identity. As such, the posts of chief and to a lesser extent of
councillor have more than mere administrative significance. Native
[645] Authority officials are still bound by ties of kinship to their people
[602] and are still the living embodiment of sentiments of group loyalty
and unity. They may have a variety of roles to play which are
recognised as distinct, but they still have little private life, in
which what they do is of no public concern. In matters of religion
Ngoni identify themselves with their co-religionists, dead or living,
[771] in other parts of the world, rather than with their pagan forebears.
But in political matters Ngoni still identify themselves with
Zwangendaba and Shaka and their successors rather than with
the British Administration and the Queen of England. They
claim the battle of Jericho as one of their victories, but not yet
Trafalgar.

There has always been a clear division between the African
202 full-time employees of the Administration and the chiefs. A formal
648 distinction was made as early as 1904 between the Boma messengers,
later known as district messengers, attached to the Native Commissioner's
office, and the chiefs and district headmen who lived in
their own villages. There were also at that time district messengers,
later called divisional headmen, who lived in their own villages but
received a few shillings a year as stipend and acted as policemen
and messengers for the Administration.

Nowadays the Administration employs Africans in a variety
647 of posts, the most important being those of messenger and clerk.
624 The messengers are mainly stationed in Fort Jameson and Fort
649 Manning and visit the rural areas on specific errands or accompanying
a District Officer on tour. From time to time messengers
are sent to live at compounds scattered through the countryside,
where they remain for a few months at a time and act as rural
[693] constables, enforcing laws relating to such activities as cultivation

and inter-village movement, reporting infringements to the local 647
Native Court or to the Administration. When employed on these 624
duties they are known as land messengers. They sometimes work in 648
conjunction with employees of the Agricultural or Veterinary [693]
Departments. Clerks spend most of their time in the Adminis-
tration offices but visit villages from time to time to collect tax and [651]
to carry out jobs, like selling maize in famine areas, which demand
some knowledge of writing. In Nyasaland, however, it is customary
for a clerk employed by the Administration to live at the Native
Court for longer periods to collect tax. In both countries employees
of other technical departments of the Administration, such as
Water and Health, are occasional visitors to the villages. The two
police forces, Northern Rhodesia Police and Nyasaland Police, are [625]
mainly concerned with law enforcement in the towns and on White
farms, but come to villages when serious crimes, such as murder,
have been reported.

Behind these African employees are the European adminis- 648
trators and technicians on whose orders they act. They form as it 647
were a protective screen round their White superiors, and access to
each White official is guarded by his Black entourage. Whites rely
to a considerable extent on their Black assistants for information
concerning affairs in the villages under their care, and villagers and
townsfolk rely on the co-operation of their friends in the employ of
the Administration when they seek its support. Thus the permanent
employees of the Administration stand between two worlds. For
the most part they are individuals who are seeking to rise, not in the
indigenous rural order but in the new urban situation, in which
smart clothes, wealth and a proper disdain for villagers who are
content to live in 'the jungle' have high value. Their own way of
life is at variance with both that of their White superiors and of the
villagers around them.

Not all the African employees of the Administration who work 167
in Ngoniland are themselves Ngoni, but even those who are not 582
are for the most part linked by affinity to Ngoni villagers. Thus
the relationship between the agricultural demonstrator or the land
messenger and the people he has to supervise is not simply an
administrative one. There is a tendency to widen the basis of every
social relationship in all simple societies, and it is easier to do this
when the social distance between the two persons involved is small.
Thus non-Ngoni members of the African Civil Service who are
posted to Fort Jameson often marry Ngoni women or discover some
remote connexion of kinship which links them to others around 166
them. Even Ngoni civil servants themselves tend to increase the 582

166 closeness of the ties linking them to the areas in which they find
582 themselves. To give two extreme examples, an agricultural demonstrator, after a few months in a rural compound, sought to marry a
daughter of a near-by village headman. A policeman, sent to a
village to investigate a murder, married a woman related to the dead
man. Marriages of this kind are made partly because there is no
other way by which a stranger in a village can be certain of getting
enough to eat, but they also serve to broaden and diversify the
relationship between the stranger and the people among whom he
finds himself. Some of these marriages are terminated when the
stranger is moved to another district, but there are a number of
instances where Ngoni wives have gone with their stranger husbands
to distant mines and towns. This process is, of course, merely part
of the much wider one by which many Ngoni women follow their
[167] husbands when they leave their villages to seek work in Southern
Rhodesia.

Similarly, chiefs and other important rural leaders endeavour
647 to establish enduring relations with members of the African Civil
557 Service. Some civil servants are their kinsmen, for one way by
which a junior son of an important man can gain the position he
desires but which is denied him by the rule of primogeniture is to
enter the Civil Service or to seek advancement in one of the churches.
Others are related by affinity, while yet others may go out of the
way to offer hospitality to visiting political leaders when they need
food and shelter in town. Some Ngoni civil servants maintain
large households in the villages, which they visit at week-ends, and
which they hope will have grown into recognized villages by the
time they come to retire.

Thus there are two distinct groups of Africans concerned with
554 public affairs, the African Civil Service and the Native Authority
557 bureaucracy. They are in intimate association with one another,
647 and both exercise considerable political power. Both are formally
distinct from the old political system. But status in traditional
terms, as chief or village headman or head of a division or cluster,
is still recognized in the face-to-face relations of people generally,
and hence there is a continual attempt to bring the two systems
into congruence with one another. Clerks aspire to become headmen when they retire, while headmen aspire to be the fathers and
fathers-in-law of clerks. This is no new development, for as early
as 1907 Stigand reported that a Swahili, whose home was near
Zanzibar, and who had been a soldier, had founded a small village
close to Fort Manning.[20]

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[20] Stigand, 'Natives of Nyasaland', p. 125. See p. 118.

One reason why the two bureaucracies remain separate is that members of the Civil Service are moved from one headquarters to another as the exigencies of the service demand, whereas a Native Authority councillor or foreman cannot, in general, seek similar employment in another tribe. In 1951 an Ngoni Native treasury clerk was transferred to a similar post in a neighbouring tribe, but moves of this kind are still exceptional, and almost out of the question where chiefs' posts are concerned. Clerks and messengers employed by the Administration are more likely to be moved at short notice, and the whole process of adaptation has to be begun again. The Ngoni clerk who is moved away from Ngoni country has to settle down to life in a strange district, and the stranger who comes to Fort Jameson has to find his way around the complexities of Ngoni society. 647 167

This factor of movement is even more significant in the case of the White administrators. Most of them spend only a few years in Ngoniland, and to them the Ngoni are merely one tribe among the many that they meet with in the course of their professional lives. Most of them can speak Nyanja, which most Ngoni can understand, so that there is not the added complication of interaction through interpreters, with the interpreters in a key social position, as Mitchell points out for the Nyasaland Yao.[illegible] But even though they can speak directly to Ngoni, it takes time for them to learn the faces of the people they see in the various Native Courts and at tribal meetings, and it also takes time to determine how these faces are related in a political system. Thus of necessity administrators are forced to rely on the advice of the African Civil Service, principally the messengers and clerks, and of the important chiefs when they need local knowledge to guide them. Chiefs and clerks attempt to establish firm relations with the administrators with whom they work, but owing to the great social distance which separates Black and White throughout southern Africa, there is little scope for this. Some messengers like to suggest that it is they, and not the White administrators, who really decide what shall be done. While this may have been partially true at one time, it is not true now. As Ngoni society has changed gradually in the direction of something with which administrators are more familiar, and as the content of administrative action has become less and less restricted to such simple activities as collecting tax and making roads, so the power of the district messenger has declined.[illegible] 648 647 [538]

[illegible] Mitchell, 'Political Organization of the Yao', pp. 133-4.

[illegible] Bradley, *Diary of a District Officer*, records in interesting fashion the relationship between himself, as District Officer, and Head Messenger Kachaje of Fort Jameson.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

7. *Capital, court and chief's village*

634 We have spoken of the headquarters of the county segment as
the capital of the county, and this is in accord with vernacular
usage. Although each chief is head of his county segment, no chief
lives in his capital village. Each has made his segment and set up
a village of his own. This process continues with each successive
chief, each making his own new village. When brick buildings
[344] were made during the 1930s to house the newly recognised Native
Courts, these were located near the villages of the reigning chiefs.
Some of these are still in office, while others have died and their
successors live in their new villages, some of which are as much as
two miles away from the court. There are thus in some counties
three foci of political interest. There is the capital village, the
court, and the chief's village. Associated with each centre are
different leaders and different activities. The capital village provides
a link with the past, and in particular with that moment in
the past at which the segment was founded. The Paramount Chief
[648] retains special rights in his capital village and can make a garden
for one year on the old site of his county capital whenever it moves
to a new one. Most, if not all, capital villages are larger than the
average village but the senior lieutenants of the county segments do
not live in them, for like the chiefs, they have made their own
villages. Nevertheless, the lieutenants who do live in the capital
[554] are regarded as people of considerable importance in the county.
Meetings are sometimes held in the capital but more frequently at
the county court or in the chief's village. The court is the home of
692 the Native Authority, and it is there that the affairs of the Administration
698 are discussed. An incident well illustrates the association of
634 the court with the Administration. I once called at the house of a
647 county chief who had not previously met me. He insisted that I
should go to the court to meet him there, as that was where he
always met Administrative officials. County meetings are called
at the court to discuss matters raised by the Administration in its
letters to chiefs, and to formulate requests and complaints for transmission
to the Administration. The court clerk, the Native Authority
councillors, assessors, and messengers are much in evidence, while
the traditional advisers of the chief, his senior lieutenants, may be
in the background even if they are not silent. Meetings of this kind
are usually called by county chiefs, but occasionally a meeting may
be held open to the whole tribe. I have described elsewhere the
procedure at a county meeting.[illegible]

[illegible] Barnes, 'Political development', pp. [illegible].

In contrast to this, the private affairs of the chieftainship, 639
matters connected with royal cattle, disputes among the chief's 622
wives and quarrels between the chief and his affines or close supporters are discussed at the chief's village. Quarrels of an apparently trivial nature, such as a chief's wife's running away with a lorry driver, would in the old days have threatened the whole internal structure of the county segment, and they are still [687]
treated as questions of State by the lieutenants and kinsmen of the chief who attend these meetings. The contrast between these two kinds of assembly is striking. They are described by different vernacular terms,[illegible] and while any man can attend and speak at a meeting at the court, it would be considered inappropriate for him to intervene in a meeting at the chief's village unless his position in the old residential system was a high one. Women listen to court meetings, but rarely if ever speak, for the Administration works very largely through men and it is men who discuss the kinds of thing in which the Administration is interested. At the chief's village, the interests of the chief's kinswomen and wives are often directly concerned and they themselves contribute to the discussion. The marriages of chiefs established, and to a lesser extent do still [602]
reinforce and establish, affinal ties which cut across the cleavages between segments and which were crucial to the balance of power [578]
within the State. A quarrel between a chief and his wife was a matter of political, and not merely domestic, significance and must therefore be discussed by the chief's political advisers.

The sanction of deportation appears to be employed only in 687
connexion with offences against the chieftainship. Thus a lieutenant who embezzled some royal cattle was called before a 627
meeting at his chief's village attended by the important lieutenants in the county, and ordered to leave the country. Similarly, a man who was found drinking with a chief's wife under suspicious circumstances was ordered to leave the country by a tribunal of this kind. He moved first to another county, but was forced to move on again out of Ngoniland. Such actions are sometimes taken without reference to recognized Native Courts or to the Administration, 698
and the effectiveness of the tribunal's decision depends on 687
the support it has from the people as a whole and from the Native 627]
Authority organization rather than on the ultimate sanctions wielded by the Administration. However, when matters of this

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[illegible] A meeting to discuss matters of general interest is *msonkhano*; one to discuss affairs of the chieftainship is *lukungu*. cf. *ku-sonkhana*, to assemble (Nyanja) and *i(li)bandla*, assembly (Zulu). The different derivation of the words, from Nyanja and Zulu, is significant. *Lukungu* also means agnate.

687 kind are referred to the Administration, it may sometimes act in the
648 way desired by the chief and his lieutenants. Thus a chief once discovered his wife in bed with a lover. The man was eventually caught, and there were some who urged that he be hanged right away, for no one would tell the Administration about the matter. However, more cautious counsels prevailed, the incident was
[684] referred to the Administration, and the man was sentenced, in accordance with the wishes of the chiefs and their lieutenants, to three months' imprisonment. On his release, he was escorted from Ngoniland by a chief. Later the man returned, only to be driven out again. The Administration is concerned with upholding the
[554] position of chiefs, and in situations of this kind may regard, say, adultery with a chief's wife as more heinous that with a commoner's wife. On the other hand, the Administration cannot be relied on to give its support automatically, and for this reason chiefs and lieutenants may decide to act without reference to it. The Administration has even on occasion awarded damages to a commoner against the Paramount Chief.

It is perhaps significant that a minor chief whose county con-
634 tained a comparatively large number of villages from the segments of other counties and whose claims to the county chieftainship was disputed decided to hold a meeting to discuss county affairs not at his court or at his village but at the capital of the county. He may have hoped to quell dissension by emphasizing the links with the pre-conquest past shared by the majority of his people.

Now that chiefs and others have begun building in burnt
344 brick, it may be that newly acceded chiefs may not find it so easy
182 to found their own villages. At the same time the policy of building
361 other public buildings in brick, such as treasuries and the proposed welfare halls, in the vicinity of existing courts, may give increased importance to the Native Authority centre. Already there have been one or two attempts at opening shops near the courts to cater for the needs of litigants, and it seems likely that the effective social centre of the county will in future be the site of the Native Authority rather than the capital village or the home of the chief.

8. *Politics and the courts*

The day-to-day work of the court takes up much of the time of
692 chiefs, assessors, and senior lieutenants of the chief. General discussion of Ngoni law lies outside the particular theme of this book, but we are here concerned with the courts in so far as they form part of the political system of the tribe. That there is a close connexion

between political and judicial actions is not surprising. There is a 692 connexion of this kind in every society, and the connexion is a particularly close one in societies like the Ngoni, where the same individuals act as legislators, administrators, and judges, and where the court does not confine itself merely to the legal issues in a dispute but examines the whole network of social relationships which are involved, with the object of restoring social order.

There are three ways in which this connexion can be seen. First, the court may be used as a vehicle for implementing the policy of the Native Authority. Secondly, the Administration may use the court to implement its policy. Thirdly, positions in the [557] court may be used to satisfy men who seek political authority. We have to deal with the third point in our discussion of the development of the Native Authority.

A chief anxious to gain favour with the Administration sees 696 that his court enforces with heavy penalties the various regulations with which, for the time being, the Administration is concerned, 557 such as those relating to agricultural control, and school attendance. 648 A chief who does not wish to co-operate will neglect these regulations. 692 Thus a few years ago there was a regulation that once a child had begun a two-year course at school, he or she must stay [872] to finish it. In one county this rule was enforced much as the letter of the law indicated, in another it was completely ignored despite the protests of school-teachers, and in a third it was interpreted to mean that every child must go to school. About a year later the Administration decided that as promulgated the rule was *ultra vires*, and said it must be withdrawn. Nevertheless in some counties it is still enforced. These chiefs and courts are not being merely capricious. Some chiefs support the missions and their schools, others oppose them; some are in alliance with the school-teachers and other intelligentsia in their counties, others oppose them. These various attitudes and alignments are reflected in the way in which they respond to a new law. This is particularly noticeable when public delicts, such as absence from school, are concerned, for in general the court is its own law-enforcing agency. There is no independent police force to bring offenders to court whether or not [625] the court wants to see them, but only the assessors, court clerk, [693] messengers and others who, when they are not busy about their own affairs, may if they are so inclined wander through the villages looking for unlicensed dogs and unlicensed beer. Thus the enforcement of law relating to public delicts depends largely on the relationship between the Native Authority and the common people.

696 In the court itself the magnitude of the penalties imposed and damages awarded is to some extent at the discretion of the court, and political considerations, among others, may influence judgments. [681] Adultery with the wife of a chief is more heavily punished than ordinary adultery, and people from other tribes, particularly [186] the Yao, are discriminated against. Ngoni courts maintain that they recognize only Ngoni law, even though the disputants may belong to other tribes. These ideas are familiar enough, but they indicate that questions of group membership, that is, political affiliation, and relations between groups, do influence the actions of the court. Within a county, hostility between a group having [578] the ear of the court and one lacking it may find expression in procedural obstructions, such as always hearing a particular suit at the end of a day, or of continually postponing the hearing because some minor witness is absent.

The chief and his advisers usually endeavour to maintain a 661 monopoly of access to the Administration, and this endeavour is 648 largely supported by the Administration as a matter of policy. In 696 the particular sphere of legal action, appeal from the Native Court to the District Officer is sometimes regarded as a challenge to this monopoly, and litigants are sometimes punished for stating that they intend to appeal. In a celebrated recent case when a chief was successfully sued in the District Commissioner's court for damages for adultery, his people came to him afterwards to express their condolences, as after a funeral, at the injury done to his high office by this procedure.

Native Courts are formally recognized under Ordinance by 692 the Administration, and hence changes in the indigenous legal 648 system brought about by the Administration are legal changes, in that they have behind them all the paraphernalia of Ordinances, Letters Patent, Orders-in-Council, and Acts of the United Kingdom Parliament. This gives a special quality to manipulation of the legal system by the Administration, for this is really only another way of saying that effective sovereignty lies with the British Crown and not with Paramount Chief Mpezeni. But within the framework of analysis of the local situation, the actions of the Administration and of the chiefs in controlling the working of the courts are comparable sociologically.

The Administration is continually exercised about the quality of the work done in Native Courts, and in so far as all cases heard in Native Courts are subject to revision by the District Commissioner a direct check is, or could be, exerted on the way in which the courts operate. But Administrative intervention goes further

than this. Annual reports often draw attention to the smooth 648
working of Native Courts and their impartiality, while attempts 692
are made to establish British rules of evidence and of legal procedure
generally. By trying thus to isolate the judiciary from the Native [696]
Authority and, more recently, by the proposal to introduce an entirely separate police force into rural areas, the Administration is engaged on an active policy of social change. One change that
has already occurred widely is in the role played by the chief in his [177]
court. We have seen that traditionally disputes were settled by the senior lieutenants of the segment concerned and referred to the chief only if the lieutenants did not agree, for the chief represented the unity of the people and was above all disputes. When Administrative officers began to supervise the work of Native Courts they usually interpreted the chief's absence from his court as neglect of his duties. Pressure was put on chiefs to attend and participate in their courts, another step towards the secularization of their office. Nowadays some Ngoni chiefs stay out of their courts, others actively hear cases in them, and others drift in and out, sometimes intervening, sometimes waiting for difficult issues to be referred to them. The changed Native Court is one of the agencies whereby the transition from small-scale to large-scale society is to be made. The very successes which were hailed generally for Native Courts in Africa on the introduction of Indirect Rule are surely evidence of the importance attached by the Administration to maintaining courts of the right kind.

The role of the court in the essentially political relationship 648
between the Administration and the Native Authority is made 671
clear when we consider the sources of law enforced in the courts. 692
I have described elsewhere[34] how many of the regulations sought for by the Administration are introduced as Native Authority Rules and Orders, which are then approved by the Administration. This is a harmless legal fiction which worries no one, since new legislation emanating from within the counties is enforced or not quite independently of whether or not it is referred to the Administration and is included in its list of Native Authority legislation. But it is significant that even this fiction can have political significance, for recently it was suggested that a soil erosion law, which had been introduced as a Native Authority Order, would be more accurately described as an Administrative rule which the Native Courts were empowered to enforce. This suggestion was rejected by a meeting of chiefs, who stated that they wished to retain the

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[34] Barnes, 'Political development', pp. 100-3.

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648 rule as a Native Authority Order.[86] Thus the chiefs preferred to
671 appear as legislators enforcing their own laws rather than as the
692 judicial agents of the Administration.

Besides the Administration, other groups external to the
692 indigenous system endeavour to influence the action of the courts.
664 Thus missions work through chiefs to try to prevent the granting of
[707] divorces in the courts, traders endeavour to get their disputes with Africans heard in Native Courts rather than in those of the Administration, and farmers request courts to hear promptly cases which concern their employees.

Occasionally the Ngoni chiefs meet together with their people
671 and formally make a new law. This appears to have happened
646 about once in each decade. Yet in the courts new decisions are
661 constantly being taken since the circumstances in which disputes arise are continually altering. The way in which these decisions are imposed throws light on the position of the court within the county, for many of these new decisions, precedents as we would call them, are introduced under the guise of a revival of some good but lately neglected tribal custom. There is no recorded corpus of Native law and custom which the Native Courts are empowered to enforce and, therefore, to say that a new decision is merely a revival of an established usage satisfies the requirements of the Administration, provided the usage is not 'repugnant to natural justice and morality'. On the other hand, it enables the court members to legislate without referring the matter to a meeting of the whole tribe or county, at which anyone would be free to speak his mind. Thus the group of persons who are in power in the court further entrench their position.[87]

9. *Moral and physical sanctions*

The counties and the tribe persist as social groups despite the
692 ease with which their members may move away to other sur-
648 roundings. The Native Authority remains in power, and its courts
626 are full of litigants, despite the unequal distribution of privileges and rewards. In a general sense the system works because there are moral as well as physical sanctions behind the rulings of the court. There is general agreement about the rights and wrongs of the
[681] actions with which the courts have to deal, and it is this that in the end usually makes a man pay damages and fines that have been awarded against him rather than the threat of the Administration's force behind the court. The decisions of the courts are subject to

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[86] *African Affairs*, report, 1948, p. 47.

[87] For a further analysis of this legislative process, see my paper, 'History'.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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review by the Administration, but in practice the cases are so 692
numerous, the written account of them so brief, and often the 626
handwriting of the record so bad, that it is difficult to make an
adequate review. [648] The Administration is able to keep some check on the financial transactions of the courts, and convictions for embezzlement are not uncommon; but the Administration does not greatly influence the decisions taken by the courts nor their enforcement. For though there are police on the lorry routes and crocodiles in the rivers, it is fairly easy for a determined man (or woman) who is dissatisfied with the treatment he has received in [696] the courts to get away. He can usually get to a White farm or to a town, and once there it is not so easy to get him back. Men are not continually running away from the courts, for they usually accept decisions given against them, though appeals from a minor chief's court to the Ngoni Appeal Court are fairly common. Few people take their appeals further to the District Officer, and I have never heard of a case going on appeal beyond the Provincial Commissioner's Court.

The general moral approval by the people of the work of the 692
courts which lies behind much of the effectiveness of the Native
Court system does not extend automatically to all legal action as 691
such. There is no widely held view that the decisions of the courts must be supported merely because they are the decisions of the courts. Some courts are good, some bad; and some decisions are good, some bad. The great majority of cases that come before a county court are brought by men and women living within the county, but sometimes a litigant begins his suit in a county court not his own, particularly in the Paramount Chief's county court, if he thinks that he will get a better hearing there. Yet chiefs support each other and a case brought before a chief by litigants from another county are sometimes thrown out, in accordance with the *Native Courts Ordinance*.

There is little moral sanction attaching to legal procedures, or
methods of appeal, or even to the particular sums awarded as 692
damages. The members of courts tend in the main to uphold each [691]
other's decisions, so that there is a fair amount of conformity throughout the ten counties. All those who work in courts have in fact an interest in increasing the power of the court system, which the people as a whole have not. Disputants will settle out of court
if they can, for it is not so far to walk and the whole process is not [627]
so disruptive of social ties, but members of a court will sometimes challenge the right of independent arbitrators, village headmen and the like, to come to any binding decisions.

The tenuousness of the moral sanctions behind the court 696 assists in the longrun in maintaining the courts as courts of equity, despite the contrary tendencies generated by political manipulation. This is also partly due to the relatively poor physical sanctions directly available to the court. If a man is actually inside the brick court building he can be handcuffed and taken off to the Administration in the township. But if a man A has been told by the court to bring £1 next Friday to hand over to B, then either he can run away, or he can offer B 5*s*. out of court and hope to hear no more about the matter, or he can persuade B that it would be wiser not to press his claim. It may be months before B can persuade the court to send one of its messengers to bring A in by force, and by that time anything may have happened, and even the court may have changed its mind about the case.

It is the Administration which possesses physical sanctions. 698 However, little moral support is given by the Black section of 696 society to the exercise of these sanctions. The Native Court has to utilise the power of the Administration when it sentences a man to imprisonment, but this punishment is not regarded as a proper penalty for the offence for which the man is committed. If a man is ordered by the court to pay a fine or damages and refuses to do so, or maintains that he has no money, the court will order him to be imprisoned in the Administration's jail. When he comes out again, he is still under an obligation to pay. Associated with this use of prison is the lack of any stigma attached to having been, or 697 actually being, in prison. Prisoners are allowed a good deal of liberty and at one time were sometimes allowed to go home for a visit. Unskilled prisoners are employed in the disposal of sewage in the township, and it is sometimes said that it is only this that keeps people out of prison. Clerks and others who are sent to prison are allowed considerable freedom and are sometimes to be seen visiting their friends in town. There is good technical training available for prisoners, and many craftsmen owe their start in their profession to a stay in prison. Prison is regarded as essentially a foreign institution introduced by the Whites, to be manipulated if possible by the Native Court, but in no way connected with making people suffer for their crimes.

698 The Administration is able to use physical sanctions not only 696 against culprits but also to retain in the township possible witnesses in cases under investigation. For this reason, and also because it is likely to investigate incidental irregularities which may come to light in the course of an inquiry, people try to avoid becoming involved with it. This affects their actions where in the abstract

they might give their support to the enforcement of law. Murder 696
has always been a public delict in Ngoni society and before the 648
conquest, a murderer was usually tried by senior lieutenants at the
headquarters of either segment 4 or 10 and if found guilty was [682]
executed by the first lieutenant of the segment. Ngoni still think that murderers ought to be brought to justice, but the investigation of murder, a matter for the Northern Rhodesia Police, is likely to be obstructed even though the investigation may be carried out entirely by Africans. Those affected by the murder wish to see the murderer punished, but they also want to keep clear of the legal process involved.

10. *External links*

The death of Zwangendaba was followed by a dispersal of 167
Ngoni groups into various parts of east and central Africa. The
present dispersal of Ngoni men and women from Fort Jameson 464
over southern Africa arises from a different social situation and takes place in a different way. The early mining enterprises of Southern Rhodesia, like those in the Union of South Africa before them, were based on migratory labour. As we have noted, Ngoni began going to Southern Rhodesia only a few months after they had been conquered, and they have continued to go ever since. Although the first batch of migrants were apparently ordered to go by someone in authority, the great bulk of men who have gone away subsequently have gone as individuals, even if they were recruited in batches of a hundred or more at a time. Thus, the dispersal of population is not directly related to the political system of the tribe, as was the pre-conquest dispersal. There has been a certain amount of regional preference, one county supplying more than its share of migrants to the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt, the Nyasaland counties supplying proportionately more migrants to the Union as compared with the Northern Rhodesia counties, and so on, but these preferences are not marked. The inhabitants of each county, and indeed of nearly every village, have kinsfolk who are scattered over the towns and farms of the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, the Transvaal and farther south.

Ngoni men and women are thus bound by many ties to other 167
persons and groups located far away from the villages of Ngoniland. 567
For the most part these ties bind individuals, for each person has 464
distant attachments which are not the same as his neighbours. In this volume we are concerned primarily with politics, with social relations between enduring groups, and we shall reserve our discussion of the social implications of migration for a later work in

167 which we shall be more directly concerned with the smaller
464 groupings of Ngoni society. There are, however, a few points that
[567] must be mentioned here.

In Fort Jameson and in a few of the towns on the Northern
Rhodesia railway line there are Ngoni members of the Native
693 Urban Courts. These posts are largely in the gift of the Native
574 Authority although they are not paid by the Native Treasury. The
643 man recommended by the Paramount Chief to the Administration
is usually the one appointed, and he acts as a representative of the
Native Authority in the town as well as carrying out his duties in
the court. He is likely to act as host when a chief visits his town,
and messages are sometimes sent through him to men and women
who are wanted in connexion with affairs in Ngoniland.

Every few years or so a chief goes to visit the towns. Here he
574 is received by his people and those of other Ngoni counties, and
643 may be given substantial presents. The Paramount Chief is some-
484 times called to Lusaka by the Administration to attend some
function, and newly appointed chiefs go to a school near there,
where courses of instruction are held for them. Thus although
migrants may leave their villages and not return to them for many
[202] years, there are opportunities for them to keep in touch with rural
happenings. Most of their contacts are with their kinsfolk, who
visit them or write to them, but there are also these links with the
political system of the tribe. When political offices have to be filled,
not only Ngoni living rurally are considered but also those in the
647 towns whose whereabouts are known. Sometimes the fare is sent
for the lorry journey back to Fort Jameson if the town-dweller has
no money.

There is little contact between the Fort Jameson group and
167 other Ngoni groups. In 1914 envoys came from the northern
Nyasaland group in order, it is said, formally to confirm *Mpezeni*
527 as Paramount Chief of the Fort Jameson group, but there does not
619 seem to have been any subsequent contact between the heads of
571 the two groups. Individuals from northern Nyasaland from time
to time find their way into Fort Jameson District, usually while
searching for work on the tobacco farms, in the same way as men
from other tribes. These immigrants may persuade some of their
[557] relatives to join them and so build up sufficient following to set
themselves up as village headmen.

Contact is naturally closer with the two Nyasaland counties
571 formerly under Mpezeni and many Ngoni in Northern Rhodesia
574 have relatives across the border. The border twists and turns, and
there is no physical indication of its existence on the ground save

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PLATE X. Thatching a school roof. The county chief has told men from nearby villages to do this work.

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PLATE XI. A mobile post office halted near a county court.

[Facing p. 168]

for a few heaps of stones hidden among the trees on the tops of 571
hills. People visit back and forth freely, except for the control 574
imposed at the customs barrier on the one lorry road. Many
people grow vegetables in Nyasaland, where there is more land, [439]
and sell them in Northern Rhodesia, where there is a better market. [311]

While this territorial proximity gives rise to a multitude of ties
linking individuals across the border, it does not lead to new
political relations between the counties with a common boundary.
Such political relations as do persist are survivals from the old order.
Although the formal structure of the Native Court system, as deter- [692]
mined by the Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia Administrations, 618
does not permit it, cases sometimes come on appeal from the Nyasa- 693
land counties to Mpezeni. There is official visiting between chiefs
across the border, and when the Paramount Chief is short of food
he may ask the Nyasaland chiefs to send him a few baskets of maize.
But despite the nearness of the Nyasaland chiefs to Mpezeni in
spatial terms, their political interests lie mainly in the opposite
direction. They are the only two Ngoni chiefs in that district of
Nyasaland and most of the chiefs whom they meet are Cewa. Their
Administration is separate from that in Northern Rhodesia, their
laws are different, and they look towards Zomba rather than
Lusaka as the seat of Administrative power. We have noted how
Mpezeni I contemplated moving into Nyasaland in 1897. As late
as 1922, when the Native Reserve scheme was under discussion,
Mpezeni II made some preliminary soundings on moving across
the border, but already by 1946 such projects were overshadowed by
the prospects of federation for the two countries of Northern
Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The people of the two Nyasaland counties are subject to the 611
same general influences as are their Northern Rhodesia neighbours 179
in such matters as increasing dependence on an exchange economy 171
and the development of a cognatic or omni-directional kinship
system in which links can be traced through spouses as well as
through fathers or mothers. Yet even in economic activity there are
significant differences. In Nyasaland, Africans grow tobacco for [249]
sale, while the Ngoni in Northern Rhodesia are not able to do so;
recruiting for the Rand gold-mines is allowed in Nyasaland and [464]
prohibited in most of Northern Rhodesia, including the Fort
Jameson area.

The annual meetings of the African Provincial Council of the 646
Eastern Province are attended by representatives from each tribe 648
in the province, two people from Fort Jameson township, the
Provincial Commissioner and sometimes a representative of the

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439

PLATE II. The customs post at Fort Manning, on the border between Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The passengers on a lorry, mainly women, have put their baggage on the ground for inspection by the customs clerk.

[Facing p. 169]

646 648 [666] Secretariat or the Legislative Council. The agenda consists of items suggested by the African members and by the Administration. The African members of the Council elect four of their number as their nominees to the African Representative Council of Northern Rhodesia, which in its turn advises the Governor on the appointment of the African members of Legislative Council. As yet, the Provincial Council meetings attract little attention among the bulk of the African population, and few Ngoni know who their members are. Nevertheless among the chiefs and councillors these meetings, if regarded with suspicion, are of some interest, and for the two delegates they provide an opportunity for stressing in public what they regard as the Ngoni point of view as contrasted with those of other tribes. Many of the Ngoni speeches are phrased in anachro- [531] [186] nistic terms, and represent more an affirmation of how different the Ngoni are or used to be rather than a realization of how similar their interests now are to those of their neighbours. However, it is possible as the Council acquires more power and the consequences of its deliberations begin to affect more people directly, Ngoni will take a greater interest in its proceedings.[illegible] The same comments apply to Ngoni participation on the Provincial Team, an advisory body with representatives from the Administration, the unofficial White community, Indians and Africans.

648 Ngoniland is almost completely surrounded by Cewa chiefdoms. The old no-man's-land which isolated the Ngoni from their neighbours in pre-conquest times has long ago disappeared. On the fringes of Ngoni country there is a great deal of contact between Ngoni villages and their Cewa neighbours and the links of kinship stretch across tribal boundaries without interruption. Within 563 648 [167] Ngoniland itself, under the control of county chiefs, are some villages which still speak the Cewa language rather than the Nsenga dialect used by most Ngoni. Most of these Cewa-speaking villages have come into Ngoniland after 1898. Their numbers are indicated in Table VII (p. 133) where it will be seen that on the average about one village in five has entered in this way. The great majority of these are Cewa in origin. Some of them claim that they have returned to ancestral sites, others state that they came as a result of land alienation or of some quarrel with their former chief. Others have been formed by non-Ngoni immigrants who have worked for many years in the township or on the farms and built up their own followings. In Northern Rhodesia villages of this kind form an integral part of Ngoni society. The cultural features which distin-

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[illegible] cf. Barnes, 'History', for a discussion of the way in which Ngoni members act at council meetings.

guish them from their neighbours are no more significant than the 563
many varieties of custom and belief which are to be found in every 648
Ngoni village. They do not form a group among themselves, their members participate in all communal activities in their counties and are to be found at all levels of the Native Authority organization below that of chief. They are linked by kinship to their neighbours. [601]
The two Nyasaland counties, however, include relatively large areas where there are only Cewa-speaking villages, and many of these claim that they have been placed under Ngoni rule only by Administrative action. From time to time they have made efforts to break away and to attach themselves to some neighbouring Cewa chief or to establish a separate chiefdom. There appears to be a sharp distinction between the Ngoni chiefs, with the villages in their county segments, and their Cewa-speaking subjects. It will be remembered that the two Nyasaland chiefdoms represent the head of the eastern movement of Mpezeni's group, and that some of the settlement across the border took place as late as 1897. It is not surprising therefore that in these two counties assimilation of Cewa captives and immigrants has not proceeded so far as in the longer established counties in Northern Rhodesia.

11. *Conclusion*

In this study we have attempted to show what has happened 17
in Ngoni political life during a period of 130 years. To-day Ngoni society is changing but this has not always been so. Prior to the arrival of Wiese in 1886, the actually existing social relations were changing, but the form of the social structure remained the same. Each new segment developed along lines that were already known
and each time the State split, the new States were copies of the old. [631]
A system of this kind could not have lasted for long, for the supply [619]
of new recruits to the Ngoni States must have sooner or later been exhausted. In Africa, even if the overall conditions facilitated the emergence of this kind of migratory militarism, they were particularly unfavourable for its prolonged continuation. The Arabs and the European Powers behind them were closing in on the centre of Africa, and Ngoni days were numbered. Then came the defeat of the Ngoni in 1898 and the emergence of a new system, in which some of the actually existing political groups, and the relations between them, appear to have a much greater stability than before. But at the same time society as a whole has become much more 631
diversified, the spatial distribution of men and women in significant 178
relationship with one another has become highly complicated, and

178 new external factors are operating. There has been a change in the
631 scale of social relationships, and Ngoni men and women form part
of a large-scale society in which events in one distant part of the
system affect events in another part. The history and analysis of
this change lies largely outside the scope of this study, and we have
restricted ourselves to the way in which the political system of the
tribe has adapted itself and been adapted in the changing society.
[64] The Ngoni sovereign State has become more and more like a rural
district council in a backward area; foreign policy has given place
[557] to Native policy; social mobility has been restricted to the lowest
caste in a plural society; and the great warrior chief has become in
effect the only member of the Administration who never goes home
[643] to Britain on leave. But in the eyes of his people, the Paramount
Chief still belongs to the Ngoni, and not to the Administration.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A. Annotated list of works on the Ngoni.
B. List of other works cited.
C. Public records relating to Mpezeni's Ngoni.

ABBREVIATIONS

A & P	*Accounts and Papers.*
B.C.A.G.	*British Central Africa Gazette.*
B.S.A.C.	British South Africa Company.
C.A.P.	*Central African Planter.*
D.K.B.	*Deutsches Kolonialblatt.*
D.K.Z.	*Deutsche Kolonialzeitung.*
J.A.I.	*Journal of the Anthropological Institute.*
J.R.A.I.	*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.*
J.R.G.S.	*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.*
M.D.S.	*Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten.*
M.R.A.	*Mangham Report, Appendix* (Col. 73 of 1932).
M.S.O.S.	*Mitteilungen des seminars für Orientalische Sprachen.*
NADA	*Native Affairs Department Annual (Southern Rhodesia).*
N.E.R.G.G.	*North-Eastern Rhodesia Government Gazette.*
P.R.G.S.	*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society.*
R.G.S.	*Royal Geographical Society.*
R.L.I.J.	*Human Problems in British Central Africa, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Journal.*
S.G.M.	*Scottish Geographical Magazine.*
S.P.	*State Papers.*
S.P.C.K.	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
S.R. & O.	*Statutory Rules and Orders.*
T.N.R.	*Tanganyika Notes and Records*
U.M.C.A.	Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

A. ANNOTATED LIST OF WORKS ON THE NGONI

I have aimed to include in this list all works relating to Ngoni groups in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. I have also included works on the Tanganyika Ngoni earlier than 1905 and a few works relating to the Gazaland Ngoni, Portuguese East Africa.

ABRAHAM, JOHN C.

Nyasaland Protectorate: Report on the Census of 1931. Zomba: Government Printer, 1932.

pp. 17-21, general synoptic account of Ngoni history.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS (*A & P*)

113

'Correspondence with British representatives and agents abroad, and reports from Naval Officers, and the Treasury, relative to the Slave Trade, 1882-3.' C. 3547. *A & P*, 1883, lxvi, pp. 283-510.

p. 344, fighting between Ngoni and slave traders east of Lake Nyasa.

'Protocols and General Act of the West African Conference.' C. 4361. *A & P*, 1884-5, lv, pp. 133-445.

p. 439, boundary of Congo Basin defined as watershed between Lake Nyasa and the Zambezi.

'Correspondence . . . relative to the Slave Trade.' C. 4523. *A & P*, 1884-5, lxxiii, pp. 385-473.

pp. 406-7, Ngoni raid on Blantyre, 3 October 1884.

'Correspondence relative to the Slave Trade.' C. 5111. *A & P*, 1887, lxxviii, pp. 313-511.

pp. 353-9, visit to Chikuse, relations between Mponda and Chikuse, and condition of Chikuse's territory.

'Correspondence relating to the Slave Trade, 1887.' C. 5428. *A & P*, 1888, xciii, pp. 283-525.

p. 304, proposed visit to Tanganyika Ngoni.

'Correspondence relative to the Slave Trade, 1888-9.' C. 5821. *A & P*, 1889, lxxii, pp. 279-586.

p. 285, Pimbi threaten to call in Ngoni to attack Kawinga.

'Correspondence respecting the Anglo-German Agreement relative to Africa and Heligoland.' C. 6043. *A & P*, 1890, li, pp. 19-32.

pp. 24-31, border between Tanganyika and Rhodesia and Nyasaland fixed.

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Some of these and similar documents have been printed in the Appendix to the first *Maugham Report* (Col. 73 of 1932). Page references to these are given below. The printed appendix also contains documents dated later than 1899 which have not been listed here.

I have also included particulars of documents which I have not seen but whose existence can be inferred. References to these are in the form: date (where known)/description/serial number of seen document in which reference is made to the unseen document.

This list does not include all the public records relevant to a general understanding of Central African history at the end of the nineteenth century, but merely those relating directly to Mpezeni's Ngoni. Reference should also be made to the entries *Accounts and Papers*, British South Africa Company, *London Gazette*, *State Papers*, *Statutes*, and *Statutory Rules and Orders* in List A of the Bibliography.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.L.C.	African Lakes Company.
B.S.A.C.	British South Africa Company.
C.A.	Central Africa
C.O.	Colonial Office.
F.O.	Foreign Office.
N.C.E.C.	North Charterland Exploration Company.
rfi	referred to in.
Tele.	Telegram.

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Serial number for this series	Public Record Office reference			[illegible] Report Appendix reference	Date	Description
					1868	
1	84	1292	272-278		4 Mar.	No. 12/48 of 1868, Churchill to Gov. of Bombay.
2	84	1292	277-278		6 Mar.	Kirk to Churchill.
					1869	
3	84	1300	223-226		24 April	No. 3, Goodrich to F.O.
4	84	1300	233-236		1 June	No. 4, Goodrich to F.O.
					1886	
5	84	1751	218		1 July	Hearn, map.
					1889	
6	84	1969	233-239		26 Aug.	Africa No. 9, Johnston to Salisbury.
					1890	
7	84	2052	30-33		(1 Feb.)	List of treaties.
8	84	2052	34	end	(1 Feb.)	Map.
9	84	2052	19-31		1 Feb.	Africa No. 6, Johnston to Salisbury.
10	84	2052	90-106		17 Mar.	Johnston, report.
11	84	2052	301-302		18 Mar.	Chisuse and Britain, treaty (Sharpe)
12	84	2052	274-325		26 Mar.– 6 June	Sharpe to Johnston.
13	84	2052	303-306	10-11	18 April	Mulilo and Britain, treaty (Sharpe)
14				20	19 April	Mulilo and B.S.A.C., treaty (Sharpe).
15	84	2052	26		10 June	No. 26, Churchill to Salisbury.
16	84	2052	143-148		9 Aug.	Johnston, memorandum.
17	84	2052	320-330		8 Sep.	Buchanan to Churchill.
18				20-21	3 Nov.	Undi and Wiese, treaty
19				29	20 Dec.	Saudze and Wiese, treaty.
20				30	24 Dec.	Marama and Wiese, treaty.
21				27-28	30 Dec.	Chipeta and Wiese, treaty.
					1891	
22				31-32	2 Jan.	Jumbe and Wiese, treaty.
23				26-27	3 Jan.	Said Nyandwa and Wiese, treaty.
24				25-26	9 Jan.	Lundu Nyango and Wiese, treaty.
25				24	14 Jan.	Chiruga N'gwua and Wiese, treaty.
26				23	16 Jan.	Saichurima Mini and Wiese, treaty.
27				22	17 Jan.	Nyachifungko Wula and Wiese, treaty.
28				32	23 Jan.	Sopa Muandza and de Sola, treaty.
29				11-12	Feb.	F.O. to B.S.A.C.
30				12	2 Apr.	F.O. to B.S.A.C.
31				17-18	14 Apr.	M'peseni and Wiese, treaty.

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1891

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#3

Serial number for this note	Public Record Office reference			[illegible] Report Appendix reference	Date	Description
32				44	13 Apr.	Undi and A.L.C. and B.S.A.C. (Sharpe).
33				42-43	20 April	Likangwe and A.L.C. and B.S.A.C. (Sharpe).
34				18-20	12 May	Chipaga Pire and Wiese, treaty.
35				24	27 June	Belcher, receipt for 30 lbs.
36	84	2197	438		18 July	Johnston, public notice on land claims.
37					Oct.	Bowler's solicitors to F.O. (vid. 90).
38					Nov.	Bowler's solicitors to F.O. (vid. 90).
39				13	4 Dec.	Stock, Son and Greening to F.O.
40				23	9 Dec.	Wiese, statutory declaration.
					1892	
41					4 Jan.	Stock, Son and Greening to F.O. (vid. 42).
42	84	2196	2-3		14 Jan.	No. 2, F.O. to Johnston.
43					20 Jan.	Stock, Son and Greening to F.O. (vid. 46).
44					28 Jan.	Stock, Son and Greening to F.O. (vid. 46).
45					30 Jan.	Stock, Son and Greening to F.O. (vid. 46).
46	84	2196	5-6		4 Feb.	No. 5, F.O. to Johnston.
47	84	2196	96-97		22 Mar.	No. 16, F.O. to Johnston.
48	84	2197	103-105, 138-140	13-16	30 Mar.	Johnston, memorandum.
49	84	2197	144-146, 151-156	13-14	31 Mar.	C.A. 16, Johnston to Salisbury.
50	84	2196	30-33		10 May	No. 23, F.O. to Johnston.
51	84	2196	38-41		17 June	No. 40, F.O. to Johnston.
52	84	2197	184-186		20 June	C.A. 21, Johnston to Salisbury.
53					6 Aug.	B.S.A.C. to F.O. (vid. 54).
54	84	2196	110-113		10 Aug.	No. 54, F.O. to Johnston.
55					Aug.	Johnston to Wiese (vid. 81).
56					Aug.	Wiese to Johnston (vid. 81).
57	84	2196	124-125		8 Sep.	No. 56, F.O. to Johnston.
58	84	2197	380-394, 420-424		13 Oct.	C.A. 39, Johnston to Rosebery.
59	84	2197	453-465		18 Oct.	C.A. 40, Johnston to Rosebery.
60	84	2197	476-477		19 Nov.	C.A. 43, Johnston to Rosebery.
61				16-17		Wiese and Bowler, note.
					1893	
62					early	Bowler to Johnston (vid. 81).
63					early	Johnston to Bowler (vid. 81).
64	2	54	81-89		31 Jan.	C.A. 6, Johnston to Rosebery.
65	2	53	15-16		13 Feb.	No. 9, F.O. to Johnston.
66	2	54	137-138		23 Mar.	Johnston, note on Matekenya.

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Serial number for this series	*Public Record Office reference*			*Maugham Report Appendix reference*	*Date*	*Description*
67	2	54	139–140		(23 Mar.)	Johnston, note on Wiese.
68	2	54	131–138		27 Mar.	Johnston to Anderson.
69					13 April	Johnston to Wiese (cf. 81).
70					14 May	Wiese to Johnston (cf. 81).
71				16	9 July	Bowler to Rosebery.
72					1 Aug.	Johnston to Wiese's agents (cf. 81).
73	2	55	192–198, 413–414, 422–423, 433–435	30–36	23 Sep.	Johnston to B.S.A.C., certificate of claim.
	2	168	125–125			
74				37–43	27–8 Sep.	Johnston to B.S.A.C. and A.L.C., certificate of claim.
75	2	55	132–190, 403–415, 421–435, 489–493	43–47 (a)	14 Oct.	Johnston, report.
	2	168	149–158			
76	2	55	140–190, 205, 201, [illegible]		14 Oct.	C.A. 35, Johnston to Rosebery.
	2	168	[illegible]			
77					autumn	Bowler to Johnston (cf. 81).
78	2	66	110–113		12 Dec.	Sharrer's Zambezi Traffic Co. to King.
79	2	55	380–390, 312–330		16 Dec.	C.A. 68, Johnston to Rosebery.

a. Chapter IV only of the report is printed in the Appendix.

1894

80	2	66	141–143		2 Mar.	Warton to Johnston.
81	2	66	144–150		3 Mar.	Johnston to Warton.
82	2	66	137–138		3 Mar.	C.A. 23, Johnston to Rosebery.
83	2	66	136		23 Mar.	Johnston to Warton.
84	2	66	137		23 Mar.	C.A. 29, Johnston to Rosebery.
85	2	66	139–140		3 May	Currie, minute on 84.
86	2	168	207–221,		14 June	Glave to Edwards.
	2	148	224–227			
87	2	67	36–37		3 July	Hay Thorburn to Johnston.
88	2	67	26–29		4 July	Johnston to Anderson.
89	2	67	30–33		5 July	Currie, minute.
90	2	67	268–269		24 Sep.	L. C. Johnston to H. H. Johnston.
91	2	67	267		6 Oct.	Johnston to (?) Anderson.
92	2	67	306		15 Oct.	Johnston to Anderson.
93	2	65	126		15 Oct.	Anderson to Johnston.

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Serial number for these notes	Public Record Office reference			Maugham Report Appendix reference	Date	Description
94	2	87	306-330		17 Oct.	Johnston, memorandum.
95	2	85	180	47-49	24 Nov.	B.S.A.C. and F.O., agreement.
96				49	27 Nov.	F.O. to B.S.A.C.
					1893	
97	2	87	113-118		9 April	No. 44, F.O. to Sharpe.
98	2	90	13		20 April	Tele. No. 1, Johnston to F.O.
99	2	89	34-35	49-50	8 May	B.S.A.C. to Mozambique Company.
100				50-51	17 May	Mozambique Company and B.S.A.C., agreement.
101	2	88	480-484		20 June	Johnston to B.S.A.C.
102	2	88	479-481		20 June	C.A. 76, Johnston to Kimberley.
103	2	88	509	52	23 June	C.A. 83, Johnston to Kimberley.
104	2	89	33		9 July	Sharpe to Anderson.
105				52	9 July	Anderson, note.
106				53	9 July	N.C.E.C. to F.O.
107				53	10 July	F.O. to N.C.E.C.
108				54	10 July	F.O. to B.S.A.C.
109				54	11 July	N.C.E.C. to F.O.
110				54	13 July	F.O. to N.C.E.C.
111				55	18 July	N.C.E.C. to F.O.
112				55	19 July	B.S.A.C. to F.O.
113	2	89	41-42		23 July	C.A. 88, Johnston to F.O.
114	2	87	213-218		30 July	No. 81, F.O. to Johnston.
115	2	87	281-282		3 Oct.	No. 118, F.O. to Johnston.
116	2	89	307-308		23 Oct.	C.A. 129, Johnston to F.O.
117				55	2 Dec.	N.C.E.C. to F.O.
118				56	7 Dec.	F.O. to B.S.A.C.
119				56	7 Dec.	F.O. to N.C.E.C.
					1896	
120				56	9 Jan.	F.O. to B.S.A.C.
121	2	106	130-139		24 Mar.	Johnston to Anderson.
122				56-58	2 April	Warton to Forbes, extracts.
123	83	1444			11 May	F.O. to N.C.E.C.
124					14 May	N.C.E.C. to F.O. (ref. 164).
125	2	109	58		23 May	Tele. No. 9, Sharpe to F.O.
126	2	106	280-281		26 May	C.A. 51, Sharpe to Salisbury.
127	83	1445			5 June	Tele., Warton to N.C.E.C.
128	83	1445			11 June	B.S.A.C. to N.C.E.C.
129	83	1445	58		22 June	N.C.E.C. to F.O.
130				59	30 June	F.O. to N.C.E.C.
131	2	107	90		11 July	Tele., Grey to Sharpe.
132	2	107	41-44	59-60	14 July	Johnston, memorandum.
133	83	1447			23 July	N.C.E.C., resolution by board.
134	83	1447			23 July	N.C.E.C. to B.S.A.C.
135	83	1447			30 July	F.O. to B.S.A.C.
136	83	1447			3 Aug.	Grey to B.S.A.C.

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137	2	127	200		4 Aug.	Tele., Sharpe to Grey.
138	2	127	201		4 Aug.	Tele., Sharpe to Forbes.
139	2	127	202		4 Aug.	Tele., Forbes to Sharpe
140	2	127	98		4 Aug.	Tele., Sharpe to Forbes.
141	2	127	92-95		5 Aug.	C.A. 99, Sharpe to Salisbury
142	2	127	97-98			F.O. minutes on 141.
143	83	1447			5 Aug.	B.S.A.C. to F.O.
144					22 Aug.	F.O. to N.C.E.C. (re 143).
145	2	128	130-133		21 Sep.	Warton, statement.
146	2	128	117-128		25 Sep.	Warton to Sharpe.
147	2	128	84-85		6 Oct.	Johnston to Salisbury.
148	2	128	104-105		6 Oct.	Johnston to Sanderson.
148a	2	128	140-143		7 Oct.	Forbes to Sharpe.
149	2	129	13		10 Oct.	Tele. No. 8, F.O. to Sharpe.
150	2	128	108		13 Oct.	C.A. 113, Sharpe to Salisbury.
151				60	11 Dec.	N.C.E.C. to F.O.
152	2	128	311-313		17 Dec.	Sharpe to Hill.
153				60	19 Dec.	F.O. to N.C.E.C.
154	2	128	304-305		24 Dec.	C.A. 145, Sharpe to Salisbury.
155	2	128	326-327		29 Dec.	Johnston, note.
156	2	128	328-330		29 Dec.	Bertie, minute.
					1897	
157				61	27 Jan.	N.C.E.C., memorandum.
158	2	127	100-108	61-64	8 Feb.	Johnston, note.
159					2 April	No. 58, F.O. to Sharpe (re 156).
160				64-65	7 April	F.O. to B.S.A.C.
161					9 April	No. 64, F.O. to Sharpe (re 156).
162	83	1526		65	14 April	B.S.A.C. to N.C.E.C.
163	83	1526			23 April	Warton to N.C.E.C.
164	83	1526			7 May	Wiese to N.C.E.C.
165	83	1526		66	10 May	N.C.E.C. to B.S.A.C.
166	83	1526		65	20 May	N.C.E.C. to F.O.
167	2	128	175		14 May	Mpezeni to Kotakota.
168	2	128	175		14 May	Hepburn to Kotakota.
169	2	128	63-64		15 May	McDonald to Sharpe.
170	2	128	174		26 May	McDonald to Sharpe.
171	2	128	61-62		30 May	C.A. 97, Sharpe to F.O.
172	2	128	171-173		13 June	C.A. 116, Sharpe to F.O.
173	2	126	233-236		11 Aug.	No. 113, F.O. to Sharpe.
174	2	129	371		29 Dec.	Tele. No. 19, Manning to F.O.
175	2	129	376-377		31 Dec.	C.A. 264, Manning to F.O.
176	2	129	372-375		31 Dec.	Manning to Hill.
					1898	
177	2	148	464-465		9 Jan.	Wiese to St. Hill.
178	2	148	466-467		9 Jan.	Rae to St. Hill.
179	2	148	468-469		9 Jan.	Roberts to St. Hill
180	2	148	470		9 Jan.	Wiese to Warringham.

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Serial number for [illegible]	Public Record Office reference			[illegible] Report Appendix reference	Date	Description
181	2	147	98–99		13 Jan.	C.A. 14, Manning to Salisbury.
182	2	150	98		13 Jan.	Tels., Sharpe to F.O.
183	2	147	96–99		18 Jan.	Sharpe to Hill.
184	2	147	98–105, 147–149		21 Jan.	Brake to Manning.
185	2	147	110–115, 149		21 Jan.	Brake to Manning.
186	2	147	33–34		21 Jan.	Cunninghame to Hill.
187	2 2	147 148	136–155, 148 280–283		24 Jan.	Wise, Roberts, Joyner and Rae to Brake.
188	2 2	147 148	136, 148 280		24 Jan.	St. Hill to Brake.
189	2	147	130–135, 143–148		27 Jan.	Sharp to Brake.
190	2	147	116–130, 140–143		29 Jan.	Brake to Manning.
191	2	150	67		3 Feb.	Tels., Sharpe to F.O.
192	2	150	2		4 Feb.	Tels., F.O. to Sharpe
193	2	150	41–43		4 Feb.	Tels. No. 1, Cunninghame to F.O.
194	2	147	70		4 Feb.	Cunninghame to Hill.
195	2	147	90–95, 140–141		17 Feb.	C.A. 25, Manning to Salisbury.
196					18 Feb.	Tels. No. 3, Manning to F.O. (cf. 198 and 199).
197	2	150	48		21 Feb.	Tels., Sharpe to F.O.
198	2	147	184		2 Mar.	C.A. 33, Manning to Salisbury.
199	2	148	80–83		14 Mar.	No. 40, F.O. to Manning.
200					10 April	Manning to Brake (cf. 201).
201	2	148	69–73		6 May	Brake to Manning.
202	2	150	4		10 May	Tels., Sharpe to Bertie.
203	2	150	4–5		10 May	Tels. No. 3, F.O. to Manning.
204	2	148	241–243		10 May	Laws to Sharpe.
205	2	147	441–481		(13 May)	Annual Report, British Central Africa Protectorate, 1897–8.
206	2	146	109–110		20 May	No. 71, F.O. to Manning.
207	2	150	36		20 May	Tels. No. 8, Manning to F.O.
208	2	148	13–16		20 May	C.A. 79, Manning to F.O.
209					20 May	F.O. to B.S.A.C. (cf. 233).
210	2	148	87–88		16 June	C.A. 93, Manning to Salisbury.
211	2	148	227–230		6 July	Sharpe to Hill.
212	2	148	230–233		7 July	C.A. 105, Manning to Salisbury.
213	2	148	304–333		24 July	Sharpe to Salisbury.
214	2	148	338		24 July	Sharpe to Hill.
215	2	148	339–341		24 July	F.O. minute
216	2	150	8–9		(3 Aug.)	Anonymous account of disposal of Ngoni cattle.

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[illegible]	Public Record Office reference			[illegible]	Date	Description
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		9 Aug.	[illegible] to [illegible].
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		10 Aug.	No. 110, F.O. to Manning.
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		27 Aug.	C.A. 155, Manning to Salisbury.
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		8 Nov.	No. 130, F.O. to Manning.
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		21 Dec.	C.A. 213, Sharpe to F.O.
					1899	
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		2 Mar.	No. 40, F.O. to Sharpe.
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	8 May	C.A. 98, Sharpe to F.O.
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		8 May	Map, Zumbo to Fort Manning.
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		8 May	C.A. 99, Sharpe to F.O.
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible] May	Regina v. [illegible].
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		13 June	[illegible] to Sharpe.
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		16 June	C.A. 149, Sharpe to Salisbury.
[illegible]					17 July	F.O. to B.S.A.C. ([illegible])
[illegible]	2	[illegible]		[illegible]	2 Aug.	[illegible] to F.O.
[illegible]	2	[illegible]			16 Aug.	[illegible], minute.
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]		18 Aug.	No. 173, F.O. to Sharpe.
[illegible]	2	[illegible]		[illegible]	23 Aug.	F.O. to B.S.A.C.

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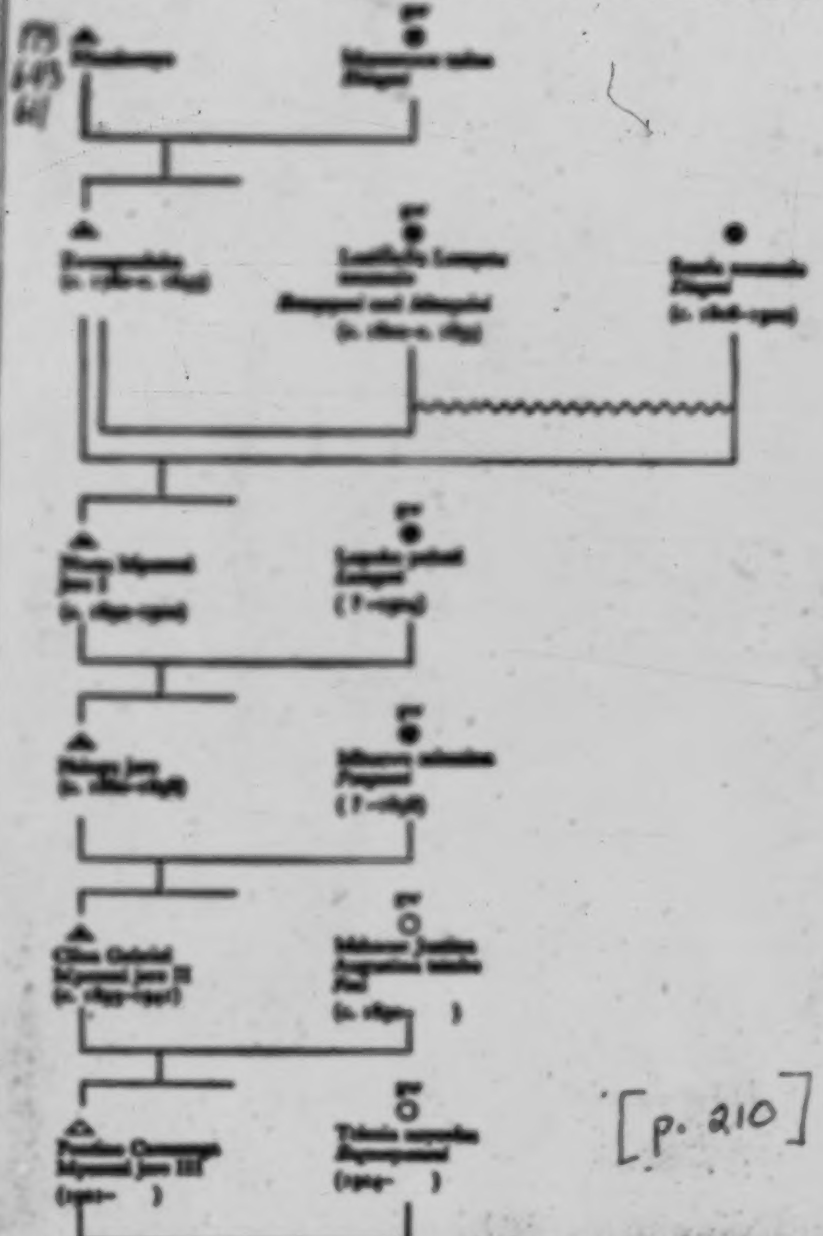
SKELETON GENEALOGY OF MPEZENI CHIEFTAINSHIP



Mpezeni Jere II
Mpezeni Jere III

[p. 210]

(Names of segments founded for queens shown in italics; other symbols as in Diagram 1 rotated through ninety degrees. Years of birth and death shown in brackets.)

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[Category 643 is reserved for information pertaining to only the Paramount Chief and his activities; data on village chiefs or headmen will be found under category 622, while information on chiefs and other officials at the county or unstated intermediate level has been classified in category 634.--Analyst]